

# The Intercollegiate Socialist

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## **The American Labor and Socialist Parties**

A Symposium

James P. Boyle	J. A. H. Hopkins	W. W. Passage
Stuart Chase	Jessie W. Hugan	Seymour Stedman
Evans Clark	L. E. Katterfeld	Upton Sinclair
A. Epstein	John M. McNamee	Norman Thomas
Max Hayes	George Nasmyth	Carl D. Thompson
Emil Herman	Scott Nearing	James P. Warbasse
John Haynes Holmes	James Oneal	John M. Work

Edited by HARRY W. LAIDLER

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# The Intercollegiate Socialist

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## THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

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The object of the INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY, established September 1905, is "to promote an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women." All present or former students of colleges interested in Socialism are eligible to active membership in the Society. Non-collegians are eligible to auxiliary membership. The annual dues of the Society are \$2, \$5 (contributing membership), \$25 or more (sustaining membership). The dues of student members-at-large are \$1 a year (with vote), 35c a year (without vote for the Executive Committee). Undergraduate Chapters are required to pay 35c a year per member to the General Society. All members are entitled to receive THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST. Friends may assist in the work of the Society by becoming dues-paying members, by sending contributions, by aiding in the organization and the strengthening of undergraduate and graduate Chapters, by obtaining subscriptions for THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST, by patronizing advertisers, and in various other ways. The Society's Quarterly is 50c a year, 15c a copy.

 NOTICE—The Executive Committee listed above were elected by the membership of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society in the elections just held.



## EDITORIAL NOTES

**THE  
SOCIALIST  
REVIEW**

In the December-January number of *The Intercollegiate Socialist*, announcement was made that plans were under way to develop the quarterly into a more comprehensive and more general monthly, to be known as the *Socialist Review*. We are glad to announce that steady progress has been made toward that end. On Monday evening, February 10, a successful "*Socialist Review* Dinner" was held in New York City, addressed by John Haynes Holmes, Bruno Lasker of *The Survey*, Charles W. Ervin of the *New York Call*, Evans Clark and Harry W. Laidler, presiding. The dinner resulted in raising a magazine fund of some \$3000 a year for three years. Since then further contributions have been received, and the Society is continuing its campaign through meetings held in other cities, through personal solicitations, etc., with the hope of raising at least \$10,000 a year for three years. It has definitely been decided to begin the publication in October, and to make its subscription price to non-members of the Society \$2 a year. Its editor will be Harry W. Laidler, and among the members of its editorial board will be Emily G. Balch, Evans Clark, Felix Grendon, H. W. L. Dana, Winthrop D. Lane and Alexander Trachtenberg.

The proposed *Socialist Review* will be primarily a magazine of accurate information and vital discussion, rather than a journal of opinion. It will necessarily strive to perform several important tasks.

1. It will aim to give a picture of industrial democracy in the making. Events that the plutocratic papers regularly choke off with silence or slander, the most notable facts in the industrial and political development, and the significance of big labor occurrences like the Seattle strike or the latest move of the Triple Alliance in English labor—will all be material of capital importance for the *Socialist*

*Review*. No effort will be spared to obtain the cooperation in this task of the best labor and Socialist authorities here and abroad. The *Review* will consider the revolutionary movements of today—political Socialism, trade and industrial unionism, the co-operative society, public ownership, democratic management, democratic education, national guilds, etc.—as so many kindred strivings toward a new industrial democratic state.

2. The magazine may also be regarded as a forum for the discussion of various phases of Socialist theory and tactics. It will be on the watch for the newer and more adequate interpretations of Socialist thought that result from the increase of human knowledge and experience and from the new developments in the labor world. What is the contribution of the Guild scheme or of the Soviet form of government? What forces should be employed in waging the class struggle? What should be the relation of the Socialist movement to the new labor parties or to the League of Nations? How best can efficient production and real democratic management be achieved under the new social order? What is to be the place of the college world, of academic freedom, of an educational program determined by a social ideal in the coming social order? These and many other problems demand clarifying and discussion. For this purpose, the *Socialist Review* will mobilize the best thought of the country and encourage not only the spirit of keen criticism, but of constructive statesmanship.

3. The magazine will contain a succinct review of the most noteworthy occurrences that affect the international Socialist and labor struggle. It will also include short reviews of books and of important articles dealing with Socialism and allied subjects.

4. An attempt will be made to present an account of the aims and



achievements in literature, art and science cognate with the revolutionary changes that are penetrating our social structure.

5. Whenever possible the issues of the paper will contain some of the most significant of the recent documents relating to the Socialist movement.

Finally, the *Socialist Review* will be written in expressive language clear and intelligible outside of the esoteric circles of the Socialist doctrinaire. The articles will be compact and to the point—articles that tempt immediate perusal, rather than ponderous essays that court a postponement to some other time. And throughout, while vigorous clashes of opinion ought to be in evidence, the spirit of good will, of genuine cooperation, and of toleration is to prevail, and a positive constructive attitude will be insisted on.

#### THE RECEPTION OF THE MONTHLY IDEA

The prophesied monthly has thus far met with much enthusiasm. "I want to tell you," writes Professor Vida D. Scudder, "how thoroughly I approve the idea. The Quarterly is sane and vital, and it does have a scope different from that of any other radical organ. I am really in earnest about this. I have lately snubbed two other people, pretty well known, who asked my opinion about starting magazines, on the ground that the *Liberator* and the *World Tomorrow* and the *Nation* and *Forward*, etc., etc., were all that was needed. But not one of these occupies your field, which I take to be the temperate yet audacious and enlightened study of the tremendous change in progress from the Socialist point of view. I earnestly hope that you can carry out the plan, and shall be glad to help in any possible way. This college, for instance, is simply alive with the sort of questions your Review would answer."

Similar messages have been received from John Haynes Holmes, Florence Kelley, Adolph Germer, Percy Stickney Grant, Charles W.

Ervin, Arthur Gleason, Wesley C. Mitchell, Harry A. Overstreet, and many others. "The times call for a fearless and comprehensive statement of the Socialist message," declares Mr. Holmes. "Furthermore, this should be especially directed at the minds of our young men and women everywhere, for the Great War has prepared these minds for the sowing of the seed of radical social change. I shall hope to help in such little ways as may be possible to me in making this publication a fine success."

There is also practical unanimity of opinion that the monthly will be an invaluable stimulus to the work of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society in its nation-wide educational work—by supplying needed material on which the various chapters may base their discussions, by announcing I. S. S. conventions, conferences, literature, trips of speakers, etc., etc., and, in many other ways, by keeping the membership of the Society in close touch with the work of the central office.

If, on the one hand, the *Socialist Review* will assist in developing among the thinking men and women of the country a sympathetic understanding of this struggle for the new world, and if, on the other hand, it will aid in bringing about inside the radical movement a spirit of tolerance, of real comradeship, of critical and constructive thought, its editors will not have striven in vain.

Members and friends of the Society are urged to help in this important social venture by pledging as generously as possible for the one, two or three-year period, the pledges to be redeemed in installments most convenient to the pledgers; by sending in the names of others who might be approached; by soliciting friends who might be interested; by obtaining subscriptions to the magazine; by arranging meetings for the purpose of assisting in the financing of the periodical, etc. Will you not help to the amount of your ability? Will you not assist at once?



## THE JUNE CONFERENCE "PROBLEMS OF THE REVOLUTIONIZED ORDER"

day Summer Conferences have proved to be the most delightful.

This year the last of June—from Tuesday, June 24th, to Monday, June 30th—has been selected for the Conference week instead of September, as in former years. This earlier date was decided upon in the belief that a late June gathering would afford a welcome recreation to many members and friends of the Society after their strenuous winter tasks; that it would prove particularly convenient for members of school and college faculties, college students and Conference speakers, and that the length of the June days would greatly add to the pleasure of the gathering.

The Society has been fortunate in securing as a home for the Conference "The Inn-in-the-Hills," Highland on the Hudson, Ulster County, New York (opposite Poughkeepsie), a spot remarkably adapted for conference purposes.

The last few years have been fraught with revolutionary change. Half of the continent of Europe has been brought under some form of Socialist government and the remainder is seething with industrial unrest. Problems of the new social order which, a few years ago, were regarded as mere utopian speculation are now presenting themselves for immediate solution to tens of millions of men and women. Realizing that this country, as well as the countries of Europe, must soon face these problems of fundamental reconstruction, and that it is supremely important that we now think them through in constructive fashion, the Society has this year selected as the subject of the Conference "The Problems of the Revolutionized Order." Never before have these problems been seriously discussed from the new viewpoint at any national conference.

Of all the gatherings of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society held throughout the year, the annual six-

The gathering promises to be one of unusual significance.

## LOCATION

The Inn-in-the-Hills is situated on Chodikee Lake in the Catskill Mountains, in Highland, Ulster County, New York, four and one-half miles from the town of Highland (seventy-five cents return trip by automobile). It is accessible by way of the New York Central Railroad to Poughkeepsie, ferrying across to Highland; or by way of the West Shore Railroad direct to Highland, and may also be reached via the Central New England and Central Hudson Steamboat Company.

The Inn owns three hundred acres of semi-rugged country, where lake, mountains, and woods afford an environment of extraordinary beauty.

As at the former Conferences, the mornings and evenings will be devoted to discussion and the afternoons to recreation—walking, rowing, canoeing, swimming, tennis playing.

## THE ACCOMMODATIONS

The visitors to the Conference will find good substantial accommodations. The main building is a fifty-five room up-to-date structure, with hot and cold water in each sleeping room. The building is provided with a number of baths,—although there are no baths in individual rooms,—is steam-heated, electric lighted and well furnished. The dining room is unusually attractive. There are also eight large modern bungalows in different parts of the campus. The meetings will, for the most part, be held in a spacious gymnasium not far from the main building.

## RATES

The Society will this year quote prices merely by the day, rather than for the entire Conference, as last year. The charge for room and board will be as follows: More than two persons in a room, \$3 a day; two persons in a room, \$3.50 a day; single rooms (of which there are ten) \$5 a day. Special rates of \$2.50 a day will be given to students (four persons in a room). Conference visitors may be accommodated prior to and following the Conference at the above quoted special rates.

Tickets of admission will be 50 cents per day in addition to board and lodging rates. Admission to single sessions, 25c. Those desiring to attend the Conference are urged to send applications with a deposit fee of \$2.00 at the earliest opportunity to the



Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Friends of the Society, not as yet certain whether they can be present, but desiring to be kept informed regarding Conference details, are also asked to send in their names.

### PROGRAM

While several speakers of particular note have thus far been secured for the Conference, including Vida D. Scudder, Harold J. H. Laski, Frederic C. Howe, Florence Kelley, Harry A. Overstreet, Norman Thomas, Jessie W. Hughan, Evans Clark, H. W. L. Dana, Louis B. Boudin, etc., the program has not as yet been completed, and merely the topics will be here set forth.

**Subject: Problems of the Revolutionized Order.**

**Tuesday evening, June 24, 8 o'clock:**

**Roads to the New Social Order.**

A brief survey will here be given of the significant developments during the last year in the movement leading toward industrial democracy. Discussion will center around these questions: To what extent should the new labor parties, the Non-partisan League, the Socialist Party, the cooperatives and other radical movements in America cooperate in the attainment of the new order? What means should be used to bring about the revolutionized world?

**Wednesday morning, June 25, 10 to 12.30 o'clock:**

Continuation of Discussion.

**Wednesday evening, June 25, 8 o'clock:**

**Remaking the State: The Soviet State, Guildism, or Marxism?**

What significant contributions does each of these three theories of the state present to political theory? Is a synthesis of these concepts possible or desirable? (For suggested references to this and subsequent discussions see "Booklist on Socialism and Allied Subjects," 5c., and "Study Courses in Socialism," 10c., published by the I. S. S.)

**Thursday morning, June 26, 10 to 12.30 o'clock:**

Continuation of Discussion.

**Thursday evening, June 28, 8 o'clock:**

**Revolutionized Industry: The Technique of Production.**

Under the new social order one of the most important questions will be how best to combine economic efficiency with democracy. What systems of remuneration, of scientific management, of accounting, of technical administration, consistent with

individual development, should be worked out under the new order with the view of increasing productivity?

**Friday morning, June 27, 10 to 12.30 o'clock:**

Continuation of Discussion.

**Friday evening, June 27, 8 o'clock:**

**Revolutionized Industry: Democracy in the Shop.**

American Socialists have always urged democratic management of industry, in order that the evils of bureaucracy may be avoided and that the personality of the worker be developed. Of late various forms of democratic management have been advocated by syndicalists, by national guildsmen, by the proponents of the industrial councils, by the shop stewards' movement, by the Soviet governments, by the American railway brotherhoods, by private industrial concerns, and by other groups. What are the most important of these proposals? Which gives the most promise of future acceptance?

**Saturday morning, June 28, 10 to 12.30 o'clock:**

Short I. S. S. session, followed by Continuation of Discussion.

**Saturday evening, June 28, 8 o'clock:**

**Revolutionized Social Control: The Relation of the Individual to the State.**

This subject will involve the discussion of the vital problems of state sovereignty, of conflicting loyalties, of liberty of conscience, of the rights and responsibilities of majorities and minorities in the future state.

**Sunday morning, June 29, 10 to 12.30 o'clock:**

Continuation of Discussion.

**Sunday afternoon, June 29, 2.30 o'clock:**

**The Revolutionized Inter-Nation: The World Federation.**

What is the ideal form of federation which will finally evolve? Can this democratic ideal be attained through the modification of the present League of Nations or through the creation by the world proletariat of a federation of peoples?

**Sunday evening, June 29, 8 o'clock:**

**Revolutionized Culture: Education, Art, Religion.**

What will be the impulse behind the new culture? To what extent will it be guided by state, by voluntary cooperative, by individual effort? What form will this culture take?

**Monday, June 30: Outing.**



# The American Labor and Socialist Parties

## Competition or Cooperation?

A Symposium by

JAMES P. BOYLE  
STUART CHASE  
EVANS CLARK  
MAX HAYES  
EMIL HERMAN  
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES  
J. A. H. HOPKINS

JESSIE W. HUGHAN  
L. E. KATTERFELD  
JOHN M. McNAMEE  
GEORGE W. NASMYTH  
SCOTT NEARING  
JAMES ONEAL

W. W. PASSAGE  
SEYMOUR STEDMAN  
UPTON SINCLAIR  
NORMAN THOMAS  
CARL D. THOMPSON  
JAMES P. Warbasse  
JOHN M. WORK

Edited by HARRY W. LAIDLER

For many years past radicals in the United States have been crying aloud for labor to follow the example of European trade unionists and to enter the political arena. They have pointed to the fact that, in most of the countries on the continent, trade unionists have, as a matter of course, voted the Socialist ticket. In Great Britain, the British Labor Party—until recently without any comprehensive program—has brought together under one roof the trade unionists, the Socialists of the Independent Labor Party and the intellectuals of the Fabian Society. In Australia, a few years ago, the Labor Party completely dominated the government. The Premier was a stationary engineer; the Minister of External Affairs, an engine fitter; the Minister of Home Affairs, a bank clerk; the Attorney General, a cook; the Postmaster General, a miner; the Vice-President of the Executive Council, a mason; the Minister of Defense, a carpenter; and the Minister of Trades and Customs, a hatter. In Russia, Germany, Austria and other countries labor is now completely in the saddle politically.

### OBSTACLES TO INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

In the United States, numerous labor parties of a local character have come and gone, and many attempts have been made by different labor groups to enter the political field. One of the last of these was the disastrous endeavor of the Knights of Labor in the eighties to function politically.

This "horrible example" of the possible dangers to labor unions of concerted political activity; the antagon-

ism in the nineties between the Socialist Labor Party, with its competing unions, and the A. F. of L.; the fear on the part of old-line trade unionists that labor politics would lead to Socialist control; the racial heterogeneity of the American labor movement, and the antagonism by extreme radicals to dependence on political activity, have been among the factors which, for the past generation, have kept labor in this country from developing an independent labor party.

### BEGINNINGS OF POLITICAL ACTION

The logic of events, however, finally forced the American Federation of Labor, more than a decade ago, to adopt the policy of "rewarding labor's friends and punishing its enemies." In 1906, the A. F. of L. conducted a vigorous campaign against Congressman Littlefield, of Maine, and other anti-labor candidates, and since then the A. F. of L. has frequently taken sides in campaigns as between the candidates of the old parties. Labor has employed its members as lobbyists in state and national capitals, and, in a few instances, such as in Wisconsin, the local trade unionists have officially allied themselves with the Socialist Party. Tens of thousands of trade unionists have also as individuals supported the Socialist ticket.

Prior to the war, considerable dissatisfaction was manifested with the lack of militant political action on the part of labor as a whole. Discontent increased during the war, particularly following the educational offensive of the reconstruction program of the British Labor Party, and local labor parties began to spring up in many



centers of population. The most significant move toward a labor party was the formation, on November 17, 1918, of the Independent Labor Party of Illinois and the United States, at a regular meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and the adoption by that body of "Labor's Fourteen Points." These points included, among other demands, "the elimination of autocratic domination of the forces of production and distribution; public ownership and operation of railways, steamships, stockyards, telephone, telegraphs and other public utilities and the nationalization and development of natural resources, water power and unused land," etc. (See *I. S. Dec.-Jan., 1918-19*, pp. 32-33). The labor party idea was endorsed, on December 2, by the Illinois Federation of Labor. The central unions of Greater New York organized another labor party in January, and, during the last few months, no less than two score such parties have been started in various parts of the United States, despite the opposition and threats of Mr. Gompers and the members of the Executive Committee of the A. F. of L. A national convention of these parties will undoubtedly be held in the near future.

The development of the labor party brings to the forefront many important problems. One of the most difficult of these is the question as to what should be the relation between these new parties and the Socialist Party—the one party of considerable size that has consistently fought for the rights of labor in this country. Will that relationship be one of bitter competition or one of cordial co-operation?

#### THE SYMPOSIUM SUMMARIZED

In an endeavor to throw some light on this question, *The Intercollegiate Socialist* recently sent a questionnaire to a number of leaders of thought throughout the country asking their attitude toward the new labor parties and the form of cooperation which should be worked out between them and the Socialist and other radical groups. The majority of those replying to the

questionnaire expressed their belief that the formation of such a party was a good omen; expressed the hope that the new movement would develop into a revolutionary, rather than a mere reform organization, and contended that if this development took place, some cooperation should be worked out between the labor and Socialist parties along the lines of the British Labor movement, or through agreements at each election.

#### THE LABOR GROUP—BOYLE, MCNAMEE, HAYES

Among the most important of the replies received were those from active members of organized labor—from James P. Boyle, John McNamee and Max Hayes. James P. Boyle, formerly president of the Brooklyn Central Labor Union, president of the Accountants', Bookkeepers' and Stenographers' Union, and one of the most prominent of the organizers of the American Labor Party of Greater New York, declares that future co-operation between the two groups will depend primarily on the attitude of the Socialist Party. Mr. Boyle is of the opinion that the form of federation does not need to be worked out until the Labor Party has become a national party. He adds:

"The Constitution of the American Labor Party of Greater New York has left the door open for a coalition between the Labor Party, the Nonpartisan League and the Socialist Party. If the Socialist Party and the Socialists within the trade unions work toward a coalition of these parties, rather than against the formation of the Labor Party, a coalition seems entirely probable.

"There is in some of the trade unions a regrettable disposition on the part of Socialist members to obstruct the organization of the Labor Party by refusing to enroll and by fighting the proposal that their union enroll as a body. This of course will have a tendency to prevent federation by emphasizing differences which coalition is intended to obliterate, and by keeping the Socialist influences in the labor movement from having an active and influential part in the formation and building up of the Labor Party.

"The Nonpartisan League is friendly to federation. The Labor Party has left the door open for it. So, I believe, that a complete and workable federation depends largely upon the attitude of the Socialist Party."



John F. McNamee, editor of the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, urges co-ordination of radical forces, and believes that that coordination can best be brought about through the co-operative movement. He declares:

"My attitude towards the new labor parties—towards all movements that have for their purpose the emancipation of the working class from master class exploitation and oppression,—I would express as an ardent desire for their coordination. There is a broad common ground upon which all can stand, and through the cooperative utilization of their power of numbers successfully combat the system that now holds so many millions in economic subjection. In this fight, one of the first obstacles to be overcome is the insidious propaganda of a certain class of labor leaders, who, for reasons evidently satisfactory to themselves, are endeavoring to make the workers content with the wage system, with a view to tiding over the reconstruction period, without any change or departure from the old established order. These conservatives do not, as a rule, favor consumers' cooperation, a labor party or a daily public press controlled by the working class.

"In my opinion the most effective instrument for bringing about unity of action between the labor parties and the Socialist and other radical groups is the consumers' cooperative movement. This will bring them together in a common purpose and the mutuality of economic interests, thus created, will operate to eradicate the dissensions and prejudices, at present existing amongst them, to the advantage of the common enemy.

"The term 'Socialist,' for reasons that space will not permit me to detail, has been made obnoxious to certain working class elements, who eagerly accept public ownership of public utilities, and natural resources, cooperative production, and practically all other economic reform principles advocated by the Socialist Party, when presented to them through a medium other than that of the Socialist Party. It seems to me, therefore, that the thing to do would be to inaugurate a general political and economic movement, under a new name that should embrace in its platform all that was good in the labor movement and Socialist and other radical groups that are now fighting at cross purposes for the attainment of the one great end, that is, economic emancipation."

Max Hayes, editor for many years of the *Cleveland Citizen* and candidate in 1912 for president of the A. F. of L. against Mr. Gompers (receiving 5,073 votes as compared with 11,974), urges

a change in leadership in both the trade union movement and in the Socialist Party. He declares:

"I am inclined to give the new labor parties sympathetic encouragement where an honest and truly representative movement is inaugurated to tear away from fossilism and make some progress.

"The chief features of the plans in operation in Great Britain, Australia and Canada would seem best fitted for this country. However, I fear that the high priests in command of the Socialist and labor forces in this country, true to the historical blindness of dogmatism, will obstruct all efforts to secure political solidarity of the workers in this country unless it is attempted their way only, or until such time as the rank and file rise and kick them into the middle of next year if such policies are to be continued. More than a quarter of a century of factional and fatuous wrangling and getting nowhere ought to prove a lesson deserving of consideration on the part of the rising generation. The old leaders are mostly beyond redemption and have earned a long rest."

#### THE SOCIALIST NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

Of vital interest also are the opinions of five of the fifteen members of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party—Seymour Stedman, James Oneal, John M. Work, L. E. Katterfeld and Emil Herman—opinions reiterating the position of the Committee that the best course for the Socialists to take is that of "watchful waiting."

#### WELCOME SHOULD BE CORDIAL, SAYS STEDMAN

Seymour Stedman, one of the organizers of the Socialist Party and the foremost Socialist attorney in the middle West, thus declares:

"The Socialist attitude toward the new labor parties should be very cordial. Socialists in unions should urge those persons who feel no kinship for the capitalist political parties and who are not favorable to the Socialist Party, to go into the Labor Party. We should encourage the formation of a labor party. Many will listen to its call who are deaf to us. When it comes to affiliation and cooperation, that is another question. To this I am not now disposed to commit myself.

"The Socialist Party has the elements of permanency and stability. The Labor Party is not urging a fundamental change—only better conditions for the sale of labor power, and proposes to use a political



weapon to accomplish this end, but the literature of the Labor Party to a very large extent is as fundamental in its attack upon capitalism as is the Socialist platform. From this it appears that when the Labor Party commences to write and publish its aims and objects, it leads very rapidly to the extreme position, notwithstanding that its platform and avowed purpose is that of a reform party.

"The Labor Party, standing for the best that labor can get under capitalist conditions as its end, has no flattering outlook. It is too late. The British situation furnishes no assistance to our reasoning on this question—nothing but labor's domination meets the present situation. When I use the term **labor party**, of course I mean a party which **only** stands for a betterment of labor conditions. The **name labor party**, or any other name, as a result of coalition **may** be the title of the party which will finally carry the proletarian cause to a complete triumph. The election laws of this country do not facilitate political cooperation, so the best we can do now is to hope that the Labor Party will furnish a field of operation for those workers who can no longer keep themselves within the American plutocratic political machine and who are too timid or who cannot approve of the full length to which a revolutionary political party goes."

#### ONEAL FAVORS "WATCHFUL WAITING"

James Oneal, an editorial writer on the *New York Call*, and author of "Workers in American History," believes that cooperation should be worked out if the Labor Party proves to be permanent and genuinely revolutionary.

"My attitude," he declares, "is that of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and which may be expressed as watchful waiting. Every Labor Party organized in this country has been wrecked by adventurers of one kind or another. This is true of every such party organized since the first one in Philadelphia in 1828. There is some evidence that this latest attempt in a number of cities has its origin in the masses rather than in the leaders. This is a hopeful sign. If the workers take hold it is possible that a genuine party of the working class may be formed independent of the Socialist Party. If its declarations and its actions prove that it is a fighting organization of the workers it will be a new situation that Socialists will have to consider.

"Cooperation could only be considered after the Labor Party had demonstrated that it was not going to repeat the experience of the former parties. If the rank and file thrust aside those leaders that have for years traded upon their official prestige

by securing nominations and jobs from capitalist exploitation, then we would have to face the question of cooperation or amalgamation. A cooperation which would recognize the autonomy of the Socialist Party so that it could maintain its organization intact would be preferable. This would leave us free to resume our independent position should unfavorable tendencies creep into the Labor Party during the period of cooperation between the two organizations. Any timid or hesitating policy of the Labor Party will not satisfy in this period of world revolution. Unless it squares with the revolutionary requirement of the times we should go our way confident that the future is with us and not with it."

John M. Work, former National Secretary of the Socialist Party, is not so cordial toward this new political phenomenon, declaring that the labor parties will have to prove three things, first, that they are apparently permanent, second, that they are not going to flirt with the foe, and third, that they do not exist merely for the purpose of seeking political pap for their members. If they prove these things, the question of cooperating along the lines of the British Labor Party, he believes, should be considered. "Meanwhile," he declares, "I cordially hope that they will die speedily—and then be kind enough to stay dead. They should not have butted into the province of the Socialist Party."

L. E. Katterfeld also maintains that the labor parties are good for Republicans and Democrats, but are not the parties for the Socialists. "We should not cooperate," he declares, "with any organization that tolerates a continuation of capitalism. We must organize all radical elements on the basis of the class struggle to abolish capitalism."

Emil Herman, Secretary of the Socialist Party of Washington, and at present a political prisoner, feels that no new party is necessary or advisable in this country and that the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party should unite and supply the leadership required for labor's emancipation. Mr. Herman adds:

"There should be a unity of the two Socialist Parties, and an endorsement by the Socialist Party of industrial unionism. All party members eligible for membership in a labor union should be required to join



one. Only members of the party who are active members of a labor union should be nominated for political office. Cordial relations should at all times be maintained between the Socialist Party and labor unions. At all elections the Socialist Party should incorporate as planks in its platform all demands of labor unions and farmers' organizations consistent with fundamental Socialist principle—the complete emancipation of the working class from economic servitude."

#### COOPERATION IF LABOR REVOLUTIONARY, SAYS CLARK

Of unusual interest are the statements of such active workers in the Socialist movement as Evans Clark, Director of the Research Bureau of the Socialist Aldermen of New York City, Scott Nearing, recent candidate for Congress on the Socialist ticket, Jessie W. Hughan, author of "American Socialism of the Present Day," and W. W. Passage, former president of the New York *Call*. Mr. Clark declares:

"My attitude toward the new labor parties is one of regretful welcome, regret that they are not part and parcel of the Socialist movement, welcome in that they exist at all. Nothing could be as good as all labor militantly Socialist. Anything is better than labor forever sold out to the political agents of the profiteers.

"I favor only such cooperation between the Socialist and Labor Parties as will preserve the complete integrity of the Socialist Party organization; only with groups that renounce old-party affiliations, root and branch; and only with organizations that stand for revolutionary working class solidarity against the exploiter until such time as they become Socialist in everything but name. Agreements not to run competing candidates may be the first step; federation, perhaps the second, amalgamation only after complete identity of theory and tactics. No compromise, no political trading—this is working class salvation."

#### NEARING ANALYZES LABOR GROUPS

Scott Nearing feels that the Labor Party has a distinct mission to perform, but that, nevertheless, the Socialist Party, with its internationalist principles, should remain intact as a revolutionary party performing vital educational work until the revolution arrives.

"The American labor movement," he asserts, "contains at least five distinct groups, therefore, it will have at least five distinct phases.

"1. The owning farmers and the more prosperous renters will be represented in some organization like the Nonpartisan League which will direct its attention to local cooperation and to the protection of its members against aggression by railroads, packing houses and other great business interests. These farmers will be class-conscious as against the big corporations, but they will have an owning-class psychology.

"2. The American trade union movement will gradually transform itself into an industrial union movement. Its backbone will be the highly skilled workers. Its policy will look toward control of the job. This movement will become class-conscious.

"3. The rank and file of the trade union movement, including men and women who for years have accepted the theory that the business of the trade union is not to go into politics, will constitute the backbone of a labor party. They will devote their attention primarily to immediate demands that look to the socialization of local and national industries. This group will be class-conscious.

"4. A minority of wage-earners, a small number of farmers, and a fringe of representatives of the professional classes will constitute a revolutionary political party, the object of which is the establishment of international Socialism. The majority of wage-earners will never belong to this party until the revolution actually arrives. It will be primarily educational in function, and will devote its energies mainly to preserving the ideals and advancing the standard of the international labor movement.

"5. The migratory workers, the lower grades of farm laborers, and some of the worst exploited of the factory workers are propertyless, homeless, family-less and vote-less. They will form some movement like the I. W. W., which scorns political action and insists on the direct expropriation of industry.

"For a member of a conservative trade union to step outside of his union into an organization like the Labor Party, which aims to include all of the working people in the country, is an immense gain for him and for the labor movement. The Labor Party, when it is organized on a national basis, will fill his need and will thus assist in breaking down the lines between various labor groups and in laying the basis for a greater solidarity of labor.

"For a class-conscious Socialist to abandon his doctrines of internationalism for the comparative nationalist doctrines and the immediate demands which the Labor Party will necessarily adopt, is a step backward.

"The Labor Party will be a boon to the majority of the workers, broadening their



horizon and showing them their relation to the other workers of the country. It cannot be a part of a world movement. That function is the function of the Socialist Party and of the direct actionists of the extreme left."

#### COOPERATION WITHOUT COMPROMISE

Some plan should be worked out, according to Dr. Jessie W. Hughan, whereby Socialist Party members should be allowed to join the Labor Party. She says:

"I believe the attitude of the Socialist Party to the new labor parties should be that of welcome, friendship and cooperation wherever such cooperation does not involve compromise or the sacrifice of party independence. Demonstrations, the working class press, strikes, drives for special legislation, and parliamentary activity are likely to offer many opportunities.

"To the extent that the Socialists of the British Labor Party have given up their party individuality and independence, I believe their example should not be followed. Specific suggestions are as follows:

"1. The Socialist Party should encourage its members to belong to both organizations, provided that membership in the Labor Party carries with it no obligation to violate the rule of No Compromise.

"2. The Socialist Party should welcome the endorsement of its own candidates by the Labor Party upon a candidate belonging to both organizations and appearing upon both tickets, but the Socialist Party should not endorse any candidate of the Labor Party who is not a member of the Socialist Party also.

"3. Our elected officials should cooperate with elected officials of the Labor Party, forming a bloc with them wherever practicable, while retaining their own responsibility to the Socialist Party."

#### SHOULD CHANGE BASIS OF ELECTIONS

W. W. Passage, formerly president of the *New York Call*, feels that effective cooperation will not be possible until we change our system of elections to elections according to occupational groups somewhat after the Soviet form of government. He maintains that the Socialist attitude toward the labor parties should be receptive, but watchful, and contends that trade unionists without a social vision who are not class-conscious on the political field are likely to block progress on the economic field. Cooperation is possible between the Socialist Party and a labor party that has

a program and purpose similar to that of the British Labor Party. Cooperation as well should be worked out with such farmers' organizations as the Nonpartisan League. He continued:

"It seems to be impossible to arrange any political union or fusion between party Socialists and other liberal and progressive forces as long as we adhere to the idea of parliamentary representatives from geographical divisions elected by and from parties having the integrity of local, state and national organization to maintain.

"If the workers in all of the useful industries, professions, trades, vocations, etc., were required to send to our legislative halls men and women chosen from their own ranks on a basis of proportional representation, it might rally workers to a more earnest interest in legislation, making them more sanguine of success and resulting in greater cooperation and more intelligent, because more class-conscious, action.

"Suppose we consider the idea of transforming the Soviet form of government which has always prevailed in America as a Soviet of the **owners** of the industries, and make it a Soviet of the **workers** in the industries as a possible solution of the problem."

#### BRITISH LABOR THE MODEL, SAYS THOMAS

Other members and friends of the Socialist movement favor some working plan, chiefly along the line adopted by the British Labor Party, for bringing together the forces demanding a new economic system. Norman Thomas, editor of *The World Tomorrow*, and an active member of the Socialist Party, believes that the labor parties "may play a great rôle in securing the ultimate establishment of the cooperative commonwealth and the end of wage slavery."

"Personally," he declares, "I think they would be stronger were they to accept a better developed economic philosophy to give power and substance to their demands for immediate economic and political reforms, but I think this philosophy will come, especially if the labor parties adhere to the principle laid down in New York, that there shall be no coalition with the old line capitalist parties. I am not prepared to give a very definite answer to the question of cooperation. Possibly the best solution of it would be some such scheme as was worked out in Great Britain, where the I. L. P. still keeps its identity in the general Labor Party movement. Meanwhile I think there ought to be cooperation between the Socialists and the Labor Party



wherever practicable in elections, and I personally should hope that some scheme might be worked out which would make it possible for Socialists to join a new Labor Party or even the Nonpartisan League without losing all standing as Socialists. I confess, however, that at the present time my opinions on the questions you ask are not very definite and are subject to change with or without notice!"

#### MUST COOPERATE, SAYS SINCLAIR

Upton Sinclair feels that cooperation is imperative. He says:

"I think the Socialist Party must, beyond all question, find some way to cooperate with this new Labor Party. It must cooperate with all genuine labor parties. Otherwise, it is like an engine which is racing and not moving the car. The problem is to preserve the independence and the integrity of the Socialist propaganda, while at the same time giving practical aid and guidance to the labor forces. The problem has been fairly well solved in England. I think what the Socialist Party should do is to lay down a program of minimum demands which must be indorsed by all the candidates whom it indorses, and it should then go to the Labor Party with the proposition to indorse its ticket, provided that the ticket contains a reasonable number of Socialist Party members; there are so very many Socialists who are also trade-unionists and well-known in the trade union movement, that this ought to be easy to arrange.

"These matters can be settled at conferences in advance of the nominating conferences, and if the Socialists are earnest and sincere in their efforts to work out a reasonable agreement, there will be no reason for a split. Of course, it ought to be made clear that the Socialist endorsement is for this one occasion only, and that each election will be a separate problem to be met and solved upon its merits. The party will, of course, preserve its own organization and propaganda machinery intact, and so it ought not to be injured by such cooperation. As an illustration of what can be accomplished, take the Nonpartisan League legislature which has met in North Dakota and has put through its complete program in a few weeks. It is the best job ever done by any legislature in America, and it seems to me that the Socialist Party ought to have been glad to help in such a proceeding. What the Socialists actually did in North Dakota, I do not know. Certainly if they did not cooperate, the Party must have dwindled to small importance in North Dakota just now."

#### ALL RADICAL GROUPS SHOULD MERGE, DECLARES HOLMES

John Haynes Holmes, of the Church of the Messiah, earnestly urges the

development of a more inclusive movement of hand and brain workers and of all radical groups, and believes that the British Labor Party is a good model to follow. He says:

"I have always believed that we should have a thorough-going Labor Party in this country—a party to include all workers, hand and brain, and all radical groups, Socialist and non-Socialist. I shall believe that we may accomplish something in this country, when such a Party is organized and in the field. If America is still in the hands of the capitalists, it is the fault of nobody but the laborites themselves. Any time that we want to take over the government, we can do so by political action, as witness the example of the Nonpartisan League in North Dakota. What we need, and must have, is a Labor Party wide open to everybody who seeks drastic social change, bound not to a hard and fast theory of reform but to a sweeping program of reconstruction, committed unreservedly and exclusively to the emancipation of the common people. The British Labor Party is, for America at least, the model!"

"I believe that we can best gain cooperation between the Labor Party (or parties) and the Socialist Party, Nonpartisan League and other radical groups, through the principle of federation. It is important that the organization of a new and inclusive group should not involve the sacrifice of the experience, prestige and momentum of the existing groups. Federation, to my mind, is the best way of securing gain and avoiding loss."

#### FAVORS FRIENDLY COMRADESHIP— WARBASSE

Dr. James P. Warbasse, President of the Cooperative League of America, not only feels that the labor parties should be welcomed, but that Socialists should be encouraged to join the parties and interpret the class struggle to them. Dr. Warbasse's interesting contribution is as follows:

"My attitude toward the new labor parties is one of hopeful approval. American labor has failed to come into the Socialist Party because labor has not been willing to inform itself as to the meaning of Socialism. Labor in America has patronized the capitalist press—its worst enemy—and has absorbed the superstitions which capitalism desires it should absorb. A labor party with some other name than Socialist may serve to rally the workers to unite in the political field. Such a party is necessary for the salvation of the obstinate workers who refuse to learn but remain still intimidated by a bugaboo. I wish the new labor parties well."



"The Socialist Party should maintain an attitude of friendly comradeship toward the labor parties. They are the necessary refuge of the workers who will not join the Socialist Party. I am glad to note that the Socialists are leaving the Socialist Party in order to give their services to the Labor Party. The labor parties need Socialists to guide them and interpret the class struggle for them. We should not criticise comrades who do this. They are performing a most necessary service to the labor movement.

"The Socialist movement has produced a million men and women in the United States who will be of supreme value in the impending crisis. They are destined to furnish the cultured leadership of which the labor movement is now in need. Labor needs people who understand the class struggle. The Socialist Party should supply them. We need not be concerned for the old party. A Super-Socialism is developing which is destined shortly to embrace everything that stands for the interests of labor. No hostility should be permitted between any of these forces. Now is the time when the common end which all have in view may be worked out. Political socialism, trade unionism, syndicalism, and cooperation should all be found giving their sympathetic support to the new labor parties, but not sacrificing their own integrity. The current of events will determine in due time when each shall sink its identity in the interest of the cooperative commonwealth."

#### NASMYTH, THOMPSON, CHASE GIVE OPINIONS

George Nasmyth of the World Peace Foundation declares that he has been assisting in the formation of labor parties, and

"as far as possible, the members of the Socialist and radical groups should enter into the growing labor party and help to keep its policies and progress shaped along sound lines. The Socialist and other radical groups should also strive to create a relationship like that of the Independent Labor Party to the British Labor Party, constituting the left wing of the American Labor Party pressing for Socialist and radical programs of action."

Carl D. Thompson, Secretary of the Public Ownership League, and formerly Director of the Information Bureau of the Socialist Party, doubts the ability of the Socialist Party to cooperate, but believes that a labor party "is inevitable and opportune." He says:

"I doubt whether the cooperation of the Socialist Party under present conditions would help the Labor Party. Moreover, I

assume that the rigid adherence of the Party to the doctrine of no fusion and no compromise would make it impossible for it to cooperate. Ultimately, however, I presume the Labor Party will occupy the field and all radical forces will be brought into some form of cooperation. My belief and hope are that there will come about the formation in America of a new party broader than the present Socialist or the Labor Party—a party that will be a truly democratic, people's party, as broad at least as the British Labor Party. That is the only basis upon which Socialism has any chance of winning in America.

"All other radical forces aside from the Socialist parties will doubtless cooperate with the Labor Party more or less. Non-partisan organizations like the Public Ownership League, however, will maintain separate organizations and follow the same line of tactics of work with public ownership forces in all parties as before. A conference of liberal elements of all sorts is now being called to consider this very question."

Cooperation, according to Stuart Chase, founder of the Fabian Club of Chicago, must depend on the future radicalism of the labor parties.

"I welcomed," he declared, "their creation, but I am by no means certain that they are going to stick to their excellent platforms. Here in Chicago some of the Socialists feel that the Labor Party is dividing the labor movement which, under the spur of intolerable economic conditions in the next year or two would have voted the Socialist ticket, had there been no Labor Party. I rather doubt this viewpoint.

"All those groups in society which lose rather than gain from the present economic system must amalgamate their forces sooner or later—if the present economic system is really to be modified. I think the Socialists and other articulate radicals would do well to hold off, without gratuitous criticism, and give the Labor Party a chance to see what it can do, and how far to the left it is prepared to go. If results are in any way encouraging, and a real class-consciousness is developed, the radicals should come in to the Labor Party—as in England. Socialism under any other name would smell as sweet."

#### HOPKINS PROMISES NATIONAL PARTY'S HELP

The Vice-Chairman of the new National Party, J. A. H. Hopkins, feels confident that his party, organized in the summer of 1917, will be glad to do all that lies in its power to cooperate with this newest effort in politics. He asserts:



"The National Party is heartily in favor of the labor movement along political lines and is doing everything it possibly can to cooperate with it. We see in it, in fact, the crystallization of our original hopes and efforts, our mission, having been from the start to bring together all of those who believe that some political activity along liberal lines is not only inevitable, but is absolutely necessary, as a solution of our economic and industrial problems.

"As to whether we would approve the method of federation found in the British Labor Party, I think I am safe in saying that we would approve and cooperate with any effective plan, and are approaching this question with open minds. In other words, we are seeking the real substance and are looking for real results, and are doing everything in our power to accomplish these purposes."

Throughout the symposium, as is seen, the chief note seems to be that of challenge to the new labor parties to

steer clear of a mere desire for office, of a mere patching up of the present economic system, and a belief that, if that is done, temporary agreements at election, federation similar to that in Great Britain and, perhaps, amalgamation between the new movement and the Socialist Party should be worked out. The second challenge is the challenge to the Socialist Party, while preserving its integrity and its program of international Socialism, to work together as effectively as possible with the great forces of labor that have a glimpse of the better day, to the end that the forces making for the new world may be able to move forward as a solid phalanx against the forces of special privilege and oppression.

## The "Rank and File" and the Labor Party

By ABRAHAM EPSTEIN

Much publicity has recently been given to official endorsements of the labor party idea by state and city central labor organizations. Little published information, however, exists regarding how the rank and file of labor is regarding the labor party development. Recently an attempt has been made by an organization that has the confidence of labor in a leading industrial state of the East to learn what the average trade unionist thinks of independent political action. The returns obtained are of significance. Two facts stand out: first, that, of the 285 unions answering the questionnaire, the overwhelming number, 89.1 per cent, favor the formation of the labor party; second, that but a very small proportion of the membership are alive enough to the importance of the question even to state their attitude.

While this failure is undoubtedly due to some extent to mere apathy, it may also be attributed somewhat to the feeling that the entire discussion is unconstitutional, from the standpoint of the union. Thus one union replied, "Although the men seem to think it a good thing, the by-laws of our constitution prohibit us from going into any political campaign as a body." Some also believe

that the present is not the most opportune time for launching the party, one adding, "in case the party is organized, it will no doubt receive the support of a large part of the membership." A third cause of failure to answer may be found in the refusal of the labor politician receiving the questionnaire to present it to the membership of the union for discussion.

Negative answers, as well as failure to answer at all were due not only to the foregoing causes, but to the definite opposition of two groups of labor, with opposing social philosophies. On the one hand, was naturally found the member of the Socialist Party who believed that the S. P. was adequate. The secretary of one union, for instance, writes that he is instructed to "send in a protest against the formation of a new labor party," adding that the local union "feels that in the Socialist Party we have a labor party which covers the needs of the laboring class." On the other hand, fear of Socialist influence deters workers from approving. "We positively refuse," declares a local union in another part of the state, "to have any part in the same at this time, rather than plainly oppose it, as there would always be more or less



I. W. W. and Bolshevism in same. To be successful we must be an independent body." The secretary concludes by declaring: "You ought to be ashamed of this kind of letters."

#### HOW THE TRADES STAND

Exceedingly interesting are the returns from the standpoint of trade and industrial affiliations. The reports show, for instance, that the best organizations, those which have most effectively used their organized powers in enforcing their demands, are the most ardent in their advocacy of the Labor Party. The railroad men stand 99.1 per cent in favor of the move. On the other hand, the printers, the conservative wing of the labor group, gave a 90.8 per cent negative vote. The miners are strong in approval. Of 6,310 voting members of the United Mine Workers, only 147 voted no, while, of the sixty locals participating, forty-eight voted unanimously in favor of the proposal, and but one unanimously against it! The votes of the six city central trades councils, representing all of the trades of a particular community, stood 85 per cent for, and 15 per cent against. Of the 733 iron and steel workers sending returns, 649

avored the party. Barbers and plumbers voted 98 per cent in the affirmative, while nearly 95 per cent of the brewery workers, a similar percentage of machinists, and 89.8 per cent of electrical workers were for it. The proportion of other trades favoring the plan was: cigar makers, 63.7 per cent; carpenters, 58.3 per cent; bricklayers, 57.3 per cent; glassblowers, 52 per cent; miscellaneous trades, 97.5 per cent.

These returns from 25,000 voters show clearly that an overwhelming majority of the wide-awake elements in organized labor in this state approve the entrance of labor into politics. However, while much of the startling indifference evidenced in the failure to reply may be explained by the reasons given above, and by the fact that the organization submitting the referendum made no attempt to educate the workers upon this question, the negligible number actually voting is a fact that the organizers and leaders of the New Labor Party will have to take into consideration. Moreover, the reconciliation of the two opposite extremes in the American labor movement requires all the statesmanship of the most capable of industrial leaders.

## The Paris Draft of the World League

By JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN

One hundred years ago a group of allies, triumphant over the Kaiser of their day, met in Vienna to reconstruct Europe. An idealist was among them, the Tsar Nicholas, dreaming of disarmament, world peace, and the brotherhood of nations,—and a Metternich was there also. The noble phrases of Nicholas found expression in the Holy Alliance; the practical statesmanship of Metternich fastened chains upon Europe for fifty years.

Today the Allies meet again—in Paris. Once more we pay tribute to the idealist and his call to world union; but in the light of a century's experience we may be pardoned for searching the loopholes through which the future Metternich will do his work.

The League of Nations is a glorious

ideal, and the American Socialists point with pride to their demand for world federation published in December, 1914. To what extent does the Paris draft measure up to this ideal?

The American radical, whether Socialist or not, requires three things of the League of Nations: 1, that it should take the place of war, and not merely attempt to regulate it as did the Hague Conventions; 2, that it should place an effective check upon imperialism; and 3, that it should make the world fairly safe for democracy.

#### WILL THE LEAGUE PREVENT WAR?

There can be little doubt that Articles 13-17 of the Paris Draft will be effective in lessening the incidents



of formal war, the assurance of delay, after the manner of the Bryan treaties, being almost a specific. Beyond this delay, however, there is little essential difference from the Hague methods of settlement. The parties are still their own judges as to the arbitrable nature of disputes, and, in non-arbitrable cases, they are bound to obey only a unanimous decision of the executive council, or, if preferred, the whole body of delegates. The practical effect is likely to be to prevent formal wars and invasions in the absence of serious schism among the nine great powers of the Council, but to cause such wars as might still occur to take on unavoidably the character of world-conflict, (Article 10 and 17).

Not all wars, however, are of this formal variety. Our own punitive expedition into Mexico and the present occupation of Russian territory have been of so informal a sort as not even to require authorization by Congress. The League Draft makes no prohibition of such disciplinary activities; on the contrary, Articles 10 and 11 appear to give the Executive Council carte blanche in conducting them. To judge by the present pacificatory operations of the Council majority in Russia, Korea, Egypt and Jugoslavia, we need expect no hesitation on their part to "take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations."

#### THE EFFECT ON ARMAMENTS

A contract among nations, however, is only as strong as its least honorable participant. Universal disarmament is the demand of the radical. What the Paris Draft offers us is: 1, The reduction of armament so far as is consistent with national safety after allowing for all special circumstances; 2, The limits of this reduction to be recommended rather than prescribed to each nation; 3, These limits, with the permission to exceed them, to be under the control of a council dominated by the five great military powers of the world; 4, The same council to regulate the entire international trade in munitions, as well as to advise, *not*

how to prevent the private manufacture of munitions, but "how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented."

Although the program above would doubtless reduce materially the defense bill of the world, it is obviously not a plan for the abolition of war.

#### THE EXPLOITATION OF RACES

Does the League Draft aim to check the growth of empires, of the exploitation of backward races and the rivalry in spheres of influence which is the seed of modern war? Not a word appears however veiled, as to curbing the sway of the imperial nations, not a word as to freedom of the seas or the internationalization of the world's waterways, not a word as to the self-determination of subject states. Instead of these we find a carefully worked out article as to the division of conquered colonies. Here the advice of liberal experts and the experience of international commissions are alike disregarded. The spoils of war are to be handed over by the executive council of great powers to those nations as mandatories "who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility." In other words, the five great powers, throwing over their imperialism the halo of liberal ethics, are to assign to themselves as mandatories the colonial possessions of the conquered.

#### WHO WILL DOMINATE THE LEAGUE?

To make the world safe for democracy is not such a simple matter as it appeared a year ago. A few elementary principles of democracy, however, we may demand of our world government. First, it should be open to the entire world; any league excluding the enemy nations, for example, would be merely a glorified and perpetual Entente. Second, provision should be made for the popular election of delegates, allowing minority and labor representation if practicable, but at least equal in democratic method to the parliamentary elections of the respective countries. Third, the number of delegates should be apportioned among the contracting parties according to democratic principles. Fourth, the world power of the league



should reside in the league itself, legislative authority belonging naturally to the body of delegates, judicial, to the permanent league court, and executive, to a council and secretariat chosen by the league.

Let us examine these requirements.

1. Neither enemy nations nor states under indemnity in process of revolution are to be admitted to the so-called World League. Were this exclusion not implicit in every act of the Paris Conference, it is made explicit in the draft as follows: "No state shall be admitted to the league unless it is able to give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations." The interpretation of this clause is made clearer by the aid of Metternich's Protocol of Troppau: "States which have undergone a change of government due to revolution—*ipso facto* cease to be members of the European Alliance and remain excluded from it until their situation gives guarantees for legal order and stability."

With Russia and the Central Powers excluded, at any rate from the "ground floor", we have a rough balance in Europe between 190 millions within and 150 millions without, an obvious invitation to the formation of a rival league.

2. As the draft makes no suggestion as to the election of delegates, we must assume that these will be arbitrarily chosen by their governments as at the Paris Conference.

3. An appearance of democracy is afforded by the provision of equality of

votes among the contracting powers. Such an equality, however, is a violation of democracy inasmuch as it recognizes the state rather than the people, as the international unit; equal power given to the 20,000 inhabitants of Monaco and the hundred million inhabitants of the United States is not democracy, but gross privilege.

On the other hand, this very yielding of so-called equality, making it possible for a coalition of San Marino with the Central American Republics to outvote the great powers in the body of delegates, indicates clearly that the power of this body is to be but nominal.

4. Even a cursory reading of the draft shows that practically every power of the league, with the exception of voting upon new members and constituting a conciliation board upon special request, is reserved to the Executive Council and the secretariat responsible to it. This inner body, of which the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan constitute a permanent majority, is to possess perpetual control of the league, for amendments to the draft, it is stipulated, can take effect only when ratified "by those states whose representatives compose the executive council."

Revolutionary Russia excluded, free Switzerland a pawn in the game, autocratic Japan one of the five rulers of mankind forever,—thus it is that the world is to be made safe for democracy.

If the European Metternich is to have his way, need America provide for him the sanction of a Holy Alliance?

## The League or Anarchy

### A Reply to Miss Hughan

By WILLIAM H. POLLAK

Miss Hughan has forcibly and tersely stated a number of specific criticisms of the proposed Covenant of the Nations. With most or all of these specific criticisms "the American radical, whether Socialist or not," or indeed the liberal of any nation, might well agree; the covenant very likely will not prevent informal wars, and may not reduce them

in number; it does not compel disarmament: there should be provision for the representation of peoples or at least of national legislatures (and the minorities in them), etc. Even if the full force of all that Miss Hughan says be granted, it is, however, submitted that the conclusion she draws, or rather indicates—the conclusion, namely, that the League as a



practical matter should not have the support of liberals—is altogether mistaken.

*The practical choice is not between the Wilson-Smuts League and a perfect league, but between the Wilson-Smuts League and no league at all.* And it is conceived that on Miss Hughan's own showing the proposed league represents an immense advance over the state of irresponsible international anarchy that has existed since the beginning of nations, and that will certainly continue to exist if the league project fails.

Miss Hughan declares that "the practical effect is likely to be to prevent formal wars and invasions in the absence of serious schism among the nine [five?] great powers of the Council, but to cause such wars as might still occur to take on unavoidably the character of world conflict." If we remember that the practical choice is as above outlined, Miss Hughan's admission becomes infinitely more important than the two qualifications she puts upon it. For even without a league, we now know, "serious schisms" among the world powers must grow into world wars, and even without a league (Miss Hughan herself points out) informal wars are plentiful enough. We have the supposed disadvantages of the league, even without the league. But the probable reduction in the number of formal wars, if we have a league, is conceded. And it is a formal war that has cost the world 7,000,000 of its youth in battle and in camp, and perhaps as many more civilian victims of exposure, hunger and rapine.

#### REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS CONCEDED

So with others of Miss Hughan's points. Criticising the disarmament provisions as too weak, she concedes that the league "would doubtless reduce materially the defense bill of the world." Without a league there is every danger that the defense bill of the world will exceed anything heretofore known in the same proportion as the armies—and particularly the armaments of 1914-1918—

have surpassed those of 1870-1871. For the scale of competitive armament inevitably starts with standards set by the last great war, and inevitably improves upon those standards.

Miss Hughan evidently feels that the mandatory principle serves no purpose but to throw "the halo of liberal ethics" over an extension of the world's greatest empires. As to this, only time can show. Certain it is, however, that this principle involves the first recognition—and a recognition by those very imperialisms—that the responsibility for the government of peoples who cannot govern themselves is a responsibility of the whole world and to the whole world.

#### LEAGUE VS. "HOLY ALLIANCE"

A word with regard to the analogy so frequently drawn between the League of Nations and the Holy Alliance. Resemblances there may well be, but there is one difference that cuts to the very core. The Holy Alliance was the creation of absolute dynastic monarchs and of a minister perhaps more mediæval-minded than they; the people had no part in the governments over which those men ruled or in the Alliance they formed. The League, on the other hand (and this Miss Hughan virtually concedes)—not the precise form, but the idea—is today the interest and the hope of hundreds of millions of common men.

It is conceived that the true analogy is not to any alliance of irresponsible monarchs, but to the federation (as in America or Switzerland) of politically democratic states or the association of England and her self-governing dominions. Such unions have not always prevented wars among their members. But they have reduced the danger of such wars and (what is hardly less important) have practically done away with the fear of such wars. The League of Nations should do as much. It should release for cooperative effort a very great part of the physical and moral energy that has gone into war, and the preparation for war.

# Guild Socialism and the Railway Brotherhoods

By LELAND OLDS

During the last year we have heard much in America of the teachings of the English Guild Socialists, who urge that the title to social industry reside in the state, but that the management of industry be given over to democratic groups of hand and brain workers, organized locally, sectionally and nationally. It has, however, remained for the "aristocracy of labor," the "Big Four" Brotherhoods and ten other railway unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to come forward with the first concrete proposal made by any considerable group of workers for the reorganization of any of the big industries of the country along these lines.

On February 7, 1919, Glenn E. Plumb proposed to the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee that the government turn over to the railway employes the entire management of the railroads of the United States. As yet this suggestion has gone no further than a Senate hearing. But, coming as it does from conservative railway unions representing approximately two million well organized wage-earners, and receiving the support, as it has, of 750,000 organized farmers, it deserves the most careful attention of all students of social tendencies.

## THE RAILROAD MANAGEMENT

Mr. Plumb proposes that a corporation be organized under Federal law to hold and operate the railroads of the country under government regulation. The capital of this corporation would be merely operating ability, the skill and industry of every railway employe, from president to office boy. Railroad management would be in the hands of a board of directors. One-third of this board would be elected by the operating force; one-third by the appointed officers and employes, while the final third would be appointed by the President of the United States with the approval of the Senate, and would, presumably, represent the community-at-large. To this board

would be given full power to appoint all officers from the president down to the point where employment begins by classification, and the board would prescribe the conditions of employment and the classification of all other employes. A certain part of the net earnings would be divided among the employes as a dividend in addition to their wage.

While the management of the roads would be under the control of the board of directors, the fixing of rates would be controlled by the public-at-large through the Interstate Commerce Commission, which would retain the power it now possesses, adjusting rates to the cost of operation. In addition, the Commission would possess any powers deemed necessary to secure full regulation, adequate and efficient service and complete equipment. It would also supervise extensions.

## EXTENSION OF LINES

Mr. Plumb suggested at the hearing that extensions into new territories be provided for by two methods; first, by the expenditure of funds by the government, and, second, by the taxation of territory benefited by these lines. This method of taxation obviously could not be imposed by private railroad owners on contingent territory, but could be utilized under public ownership. The findings of the committees appointed to assess the public and private benefits of an extension would be subject to the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

## SETTLING OF LABOR DISPUTES

In discussing the delicate and important problem of the settlement of labor disputes, Mr. Plumb said that, under his plan, wage boards and boards of adjustment, similar to those now existing under the Director General of Railways, would exist, with power to hear all disputes regarding the conditions of labor of classified



workers, and regarding the salaries of services of appointed employes. The board would have final authority, except in the event of a deadlock, when the matter would be referred to the board of directors. During the past two years, Mr. Plumb reminded the committee, boards, composed of operators and workers, have disposed of thousands of complaints from which no appeal has been taken, and in only one or two cases has there been a dissenting voice in their decisions. The work of these boards, Mr. Plumb believed, would effectually eliminate strikes and lockouts.

#### PAYING FOR THE ROADS

According to the plan, the property should be fairly appraised, and bonds should be issued to the security holders equal to the estimated value of the property. The fact should not be lost sight of in any appraisal that the market value of railroad securities has, for a number of years past, been steadily declining. The Security Holders' Committee has placed the property investment account of the railroads at \$18,000,000,000. This, however, represents the par value of all railway securities, at the present time. According to the statistics advanced by Mr. Plumb, the market value of these securities has been steadily declining during the past six years, at present amounting to only \$13,700,000,000. If Congress but multiplied by four the appropriations which it has been urged to make in aid of these properties, declared Mr. Plumb, the government would be in a position to buy all of the railway stocks at present market values. These stock issues, he further contends, represent the entire equity in the case.

Mr. Plumb also significantly affirms that the exchange of government long-time obligations for present railway securities would mean an annual saving under government ownership in the cost of capital of four to six hundred million dollars, an amount equivalent to at least ten per cent of the total income of these properties

under present conditions! Such a saving would make possible a reduction in the current rates of transportation.

#### AUTOMATIC REDUCTION OF RATES AND A CHECK ON PROFITS

From the standpoint of the general public, the method proposed in the plan for reducing the rates of transportation is of special interest. Given a certain income, it would first be necessary to pay interest on the bonds that were exchanged for railway securities. This would constitute a fixed charge until retired. The net income, after the payment of all costs of operation and fixed charges, would be divided into two equal parts, one-half going to the employes as dividend on wages and the other half going to the government for the building of extensions and the creation of a sinking fund for the ultimate retirement of all capital. If the minimum rates fixed produced an operating revenue more than sufficient to meet the requirements of the service, an automatic reduction in rates would be accomplished as follows: Whenever the total amount of the net revenue paid to the government, that is, the government's share of the profits, exceeded five per cent. of the gross operating revenue, the Interstate Commerce Commission would readjust the rates in such a manner as to absorb this five per cent. This would be equivalent to a five per cent. reduction in rates.

#### PREDICTED RESULTS

The scheme of operation, the writer is convinced, would render to the public all of the benefits of unified operation in terminals, buildings, cars, equipment and the routing of traffic, would, in short, eliminate all of the costs of competition, without losing its benefits. It would stimulate economy, efficiency and good service.

It would also remove the employment of men and the extension of lines from the influence of government officials. Efficient executives and officials would be assured of retaining their positions and of securing ade-

quate returns for their services; inefficient executives and officials would be as surely eliminated by the demands of the great body of employes and executives who would be directly injured by the inefficiency of such individuals. In his own words:

"Under the old system of private ownership and operation, the hope of increased returns actuated only those individuals employed in the service who might reasonably be expected to share in those returns. All other employes were merely actuated by fear that they might lose their jobs, or might face an actual or relative decrease in wages. Fear is the poorest incentive on which to build efficiency or economy. Hope is the strongest incentive to achieve these results. Fear is the incentive of slaves; hope the inspiration of free men. I would extend this inspiration to every employe from the chief executive of the organization to the humblest servant. I would have each one assured that he must reap his fair share of what was produced by the efficiency and economy of all, and have him realize that unless he performed his full share in preserving efficiency and economy, he must inevitably receive a less return for his services.

"Such an organization would promote a morale among employes that has never been approached in any industrial enterprise. It would supplant the old system of competition under which the profits of the laborer's industry went to another, and in which he could never hope to share, by a new system where the profit of his industry would accrue to himself alone, where all employes were united by a common purpose, all working toward a common end, by the same incentives, and with no opportunity for division of interest and no apprehension that another would reap what he had sown."

#### THE CONTRAST

To understand the full significance of this plan we have only to contrast with it the broad outlines of the plan suggested by the railway executives. They propose the ultimate consolidation of all the country's railroads into about twenty-five great systems along present lines, leaving the administration and management of these systems to existing agencies, that is, to the financiers. For the purpose of securing adequate rates they suggest that there be created a department of transportation, headed by a secretary, who should sit at the president's council table. This Secretary of Transporta-

tion would assume all the executive duties now exercised by the Interstate Commerce Commission; in his jurisdiction would be centered rate regulation and the fixing of wages; he would use the power of the administration to create the necessary credit for the carriers. They further suggest that the government adopt a fixed policy as to revenues, requiring that the influence of the President, through the Secretary of Transportation, shall be put behind movements for increased rates in order that these may be sufficient to protect existing investments and to attract capital.

A brief study of the contrast will make perfectly obvious the fact that the country is facing an issue between the operation of the railroads in the interest of those most concerned in their proper functioning and their operation in the interest of the great bank combines. Concerning this plan, Mr. Plumb said:

"To create such a department of the government with a Cabinet member at its head, authorized to enforce a governmental policy that shall secure adequate returns on the capital invested in this industry, would, in our opinion, be subverting the entire purpose of our government. It would be regulating the people in the interest of capital. It would be freeing capital invested upon a competitive basis from all the operating losses of competition, from all the results of imprudence and bad management, and placing all such burdens on the consuming public. It would be regulating the price which the public must pay for a public service in the interest of capital—a complete reversal of the theory of governmental regulation. If this be done for the railways we would soon be asked to have a regulating department to secure adequate returns for capital invested in the steel business, a like department for the same purpose to protect capital invested in the packing business, and in short, very quickly we would have a sovereign people enslaved by regulations to protect in the hand of a few the capital which they had accumulated from the labor of all."

#### THE ISSUE

The issue is between national capitalism and industrial democracy expressed in this plan of the railway workers for the socialization of the railroads and their operation by a national railway guild. I have already



pointed out that it is closely akin to the Guild Socialism which is gaining momentum in England. And it is in line with even deeper social movements. For this Guild Socialism is to all intents and purposes the Anglo-Saxon expression of the Russian Soviet principle. But here in America the proposal comes, not from radicals, not from Socialists, but from men the majority of whom have always been private ownership men.

It is the proposal of conservative trade unionism nearly two million strong. With them, on the general principles, stand the farmers, although they ask for representation on the board of directors and suggest the advanced proposal that, through very heavy taxation of inheritances, land values and incomes, the government could own the railroads within five to ten years free from all obligations except the bonds which could be gradually retired.

The presentation of such a plan by so large a body of organized voters puts the problem directly before the pub-

lic. Hitherto the working out of business plans has been treated as a mystery too deep for public solution. But the day when such vital decisions will be left to those skilled in the duplicity of business jargon is past, and the presentation of this plan marks its passing. Mr. Plumb deserves great credit for having presented a democratic solution, not as an abstract theory, but as a concrete plan worked out in considerable detail. There is undoubtedly room for criticism and amendment. Many of the details were advanced tentatively in order to promote intelligent discussion. But in the discussion of details, the issue itself must not be forgotten. With organized voting strength behind the plan approaching three million and active opposition practically limited to organs of the financial interests which have milked the roads for so many years, the final settlement of the question may be taken as an index of the extent to which the political system is subject to the control of a small minority associated with the great financial combines.

## The Cooperative Advance in the United States

By JAMES PETER WARBASE

Cooperation in the United States is a story of idealism, blasted by failures. The spirit of individualism, the newness of the country, the mixture of races and nationalities, the presence of undeveloped land, and the possibilities of escaping from poverty—all contributed to inhibit the growth of cooperation in the United States. In later times the strenuous competition among private tradesmen, the allurements through business advertising, and the great power of monopolies and vested interests have been potent factors against cooperative development.

Cooperation among the descendants of the Puritan and Pilgrim settlers of this country may be said to have failed. New England is the burial ground of cooperation. To this day the most backward people in this movement are those of the oldest American stock.

New immigrant groups, however, have brought the cooperative spirit from abroad, and for many years co-operatives have existed among the farmers of the western and northern states and among the foreign industrial workers in all parts of the country.

### RECENT GROWTH

But this movement did not begin to show any rapid growth until 1916. Since that year, partly as a result of the growing consciousness of profiteering and of the evils of the competitive system, and partly as a result of intensive educational work along cooperative lines, the movement has taken remarkable strides forward.

The greatest growth has undoubtedly been evidenced in the last twelve months. Two years ago a survey of

cooperation in the United States\* estimated that there were 800 consumers' societies. At that time the Cooperative League of America had less than 500 on its lists. At the present time the League has knowledge of 2,000 societies and estimates that there are between 500 and 1,000 more of which it yet has no record.

All over the country the movement has developed. The agricultural people of the northern states have been among the first in this new era. In some locations the purchasing power of groups of societies has become so great that they have federated and organized wholesale societies.

#### THE PENNSYLVANIA COOPERATIVES

The Tri-State Cooperative Society is a federation of about seventy stores, mostly in western Pennsylvania. These societies are constituted of many nationalities: Poles, Slovaks, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Italians and Bohemians. In Bentleyville, Pa., a little mining town, the cooperative has crowded out private business, and handles groceries, meats, dry goods, shoes, feed and automobile supplies to the amount of \$200,000 a year. The Tri-State Society maintains a wholesale with a warehouse at Monessen, and has recently acquired another warehouse at Pittsburgh. The demands of the Cooperative Societies within reach of its motor trucks are so great that the wholesale does not attempt to give service beyond a radius of twenty or thirty miles. A single labor union has contributed \$5,000 to the capital of the wholesale.

#### AMONG THE ILLINOIS MINERS

The miners of Illinois have developed a strong cooperative movement in that state, where there exist no less than sixty-five distributive societies, belonging to the Central States Cooperative Society with headquarters at Springfield, Illinois. Here may be found another wholesale with a ware-

house in East St. Louis. These societies are largely built up among the union locals of the United Mine Workers. Their financial success enables many of them to return to their members a savings-return of from 6 to 12 per cent. quarterly on the cost of their purchases.

The society at Witt, Illinois, may be taken as a typical example of this group. It has over 300 members. Its last quarterly report shows that, for a recent three months' period, the society paid a cash savings-return to its members of 8 per cent., totalling \$2,213; it added to its merchandise reserve fund \$1,051; its sales to members for the three months were \$27,685, and to non-members \$3,354; and its resources are \$28,847. Its building is the largest in the town. "Private merchants," its bulletin states, "no longer look upon us lightly; some of them are beginning to wonder how long they will last. Almost all of them have reduced their help." This society, like that at Danville, has an energetic committee on education and social features, and brings together the men, women and children of the community in its educational and recreational activities. The Staunton, Roseland and Gillespie societies do an annual business of from \$130,000 to \$150,000 each. Many of these groups own their own buildings. Some conduct their own coal-yard. The \$4,000,000 annual business of these Illinois cooperators is entirely controlled by workingmen who have come up out of the mines and taken charge of financial affairs. So deep an impression have these organizations made on bourgeois life that the Governor of Illinois has stated in a public address that courses in co-operation should regularly be given in the schools of Illinois.

Illinois is but an index to what is going on in the neighboring states. Strong groups of societies exist in Indiana, Ohio and Iowa. The Palatine Cooperative Society of Chicago, with 1,200 members, conducts a school with 400 Polish students. This society has a capital of \$500,000.

\* "The Cooperative Movement in the United States," by Cheves West Perky, Bulletin of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 1917.



### THE FARMERS TAKE A LEAD

Huge cooperative enterprises, exceeding in size those of any other portion of the country, are also springing up among the farmers' organizations of the middle west. These societies are largely connected with cooperative producers' organizations, hundreds of them not only conduct stores where groceries, clothing, dry goods and hardware are sold, but supply seeds, feed and fertilizer to their members. These same organizations buy the farmers' products and dispose of them on a cooperative basis. Some of them own grain elevators, others are organized to sell live stock, and not a few conduct a meat-packing business.

### THE REMARKABLE SEATTLE MOVEMENT

Traveling further toward the Northwest, we discover a vigorous movement around Puget Sound, particularly in Seattle, where powerful labor organizations have become interested in cooperation. The growth here is remarkable. In June, 1918, the Seattle society purchased a private store which was conducting a business of \$4,200 a month, and soon increased the sales to \$7,000 a month. The society then took over the city market, and, during the first thirty weeks, conducted a business of a half million of dollars. The cooperative meat business alone now amounts to \$70,000 a month, while its net profit in the seven months totaled \$20,000. All this business is conducted on strictly Rochdale principle. During the past few months, the cooperators here have organized their own slaughter house, and kill the animals supplied by their own agricultural members. Their members also supply most of the fruit and vegetables sold by the cooperative stores. Their market is a concrete building equipped with its own ice plant and cold storage.

Among the Seattle Cooperatives may also be found a bank, a laundry, a printing plant, a restaurant, a milk condensary, several shingle mills, a fish cannery, a jewelry factory and recreation centers. A single union has

contributed \$12,000 to the capital of the market. A short time ago, the authorities and the private merchants made a concerted attack on the Puget Sound Cooperative Wholesale, the federation of the societies in Seattle and surrounding territory, in the effort to starve it out. The police attack, however, only increased the strength and power of the movement. During the recent general strike in Seattle, the workers were fed by the cooperatives without difficulty, while the rich families moved to Portland and lived in hotels!

In California may be found an older cooperative movement, started there fully twenty years ago. This movement has experienced many vicissitudes. In 1918, a most significant organization was started, the California Union of Producers and Consumers, consisting of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union, the Pacific Cooperative League, and the California State Federation of Labor. This union of farmers, cooperative consumers, and organized workers is a good omen for the future.

### THE FINNISH DEVELOPMENT

Of all the nationalities in this country, the Finns have assumed the leadership in the promotion of cooperation in the United States. They have the intelligence, the solidarity and the traditions necessary for success. At Superior, Wisconsin, they have established a wholesale in the midst of a group of about fifty societies. Their bakeries are as near perfection as it seems possible to attain. The New York Finns have organized their own cooperative restaurants, and club houses. In Fitchburg, Massachusetts, they have established a cooperative bank with a New York branch. This bank receives the deposits of the members and finances cooperative enterprises. These cooperators conduct printing houses which publish several daily papers, weeklies, and monthly magazines, and have established chains of Finnish societies extending all the way from the northern states to New England. They have done more in de-

veloping the social, educational and recreational aspects of cooperation than any other people, their club-houses, theaters and amusement parks representing the best that America offers in this type of cooperation.

Other national and racial groups which have made notable progress in this country are the Russians, Italians, Germans, Poles, Slovaks and Franco-Belgians. The Jews have been active cooperators, while the negroes, during the past year, have taken hold of cooperation in a promising fashion.

#### COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLES

The National Cooperative Convention at Springfield, Illinois, in 1918, held under the auspices of the Co-operative League of America, was an important event in the development of the American movement. It brought together delegates from all parts of the country. It united the cooperative forces. It started the machinery for an American Wholesale, and it enunciated the fundamental principles upon which the movement in this country should go forward. These are: 1) one vote and one vote only for each member; 2) capital to receive interest at not more than the legal or minimum current rate; 3) surplus savings (or "profit") to be returned as savings-returns (or "dividends") in proportion to the patronage of each individual, or to be employed for the general social good of the society; 4) goods to be sold at current market price—not at cost; 5) business to be conducted for

cash or its equivalent; 6) education in the principles and aims of cooperation, with the view of expansion into the larger fields, always to be carried on in connection with the enjoyment of the immediate economic advantages; and 7) federation as soon as possible with the nearest cooperative societies, with the ultimate purpose of national and world cooperation.

The most noteworthy development is now evidenced among the labor unions. In 1916, the American Federation of Labor passed strong resolutions indorsing consumers' cooperation and providing for the promotion of true Rochdale methods. Since that time, the labor publications throughout the country have carried on an effective propaganda.

The cooperative movement in America is developing in close alliance with the labor movement. It is desirable for both groups that this should be the case. The Labor Party, like the Socialist Party, has taken a stand in favor of cooperation. All of the indications show that these three social forces—cooperation, organizing the consumers; labor, organizing the workers at the point of production; and labor in the political field—are destined to join forces in the onward warch toward the co-operative commonwealth.\*

\* The transactions of the National Co-operative Convention and literature dealing with the movement may be had from the Cooperative League of America, 2 West 13th Street, New York City.

## The German Revolution and After

By S. ZIMAND

Exactly a year following the November uprising at Petrograd, Karl Liebknecht raised the red flag on the Royal Palace. For months before this event, repeated strikes and mutinies had occurred in Germany. In January and February, 1918, strikes against the war had broken out in munition plants. Army regiments revolted repeatedly and, in October, the first flames of the

revolution burst forth in Kiel, with a mutiny in the German fleet. On the fifth and sixth of November, revolutionary outbreaks occurred in Berlin, Dresden, and Kiel, and, on the ninth, the Imperial Chancellor Prince Max of Baden announced officially the abdication of the Kaiser, while from the steps of the Reichstag, Phillip Scheidemann proclaimed the birth of the German Republic.



lic, and the appointment of Ebert to the Chancellorship. In the meantime, the different states of the Empire had been evolving into republics, while Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils were being formed throughout the country. The *Volksstimme* of Chemnitz, on November 9, issued a proclamation declaring that "the military power of command is in the hands of the Council of Workmen and Soldiers. All orders from other sources are to be ignored. The Council will take the necessary measures for the provisioning of the people, and forbids any stoppage in the distribution of food."

The following day, the Provisional Council of Berlin called on the workers and soldiers to select delegates to the council. "Soldiers, brothers," it declared, "meet together, today, at the latest at 10 o'clock in the barracks and hospitals and choose your representatives on the basis of one delegate for each battalion, one for each small independent formation and one for each hospital."

Five days later, November 15, the Executive Committee of the Berlin Workmen's and Soldiers' Council issued an appeal to the peoples of France, Italy, England and America, asking for their peaceful cooperation for the establishment of a League of Nations. It said:

"The restoration of bleeding Germany, the regulation of economic and national life, the deliverance of people from hunger, privation and other distress cannot be accomplished if the Entente imposes intolerable armistice and peace conditions. We appeal to the spirit of justice and solidarity among hitherto hostile nations and extend a fraternal hand across the trenches. . . . Do not permit the German people to be condemned to slavery by your governments. We have gained internal freedom and wish to take an equal seat in the future council of nations. Long live peace, liberty and international revolutionary Socialism." (It is to be remarked that practically all of the proclamations of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils end with the appeal for a "secure peace and order.")

#### DIVISIONS IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

The revolution found the Socialist Party of Germany divided. This division had in reality existed since the decision made on August 4, 1914, at the caucus of the Social Democratic deputies in support of the War Budget. On November

ber 10, 1918, an understanding was reached between the Majority and Independent Socialists. In a letter addressed by leaders of both factions to the Swedish Socialist, Hjalmar Branting, this reunion is announced. "We Socialists of both factions, formerly divided," the letter reads, "are now united in the work of developing peaceful cooperation among the nations." A Council of national commissaires was thereupon formed, consisting exclusively of Socialists of various factions. Scheidemann, Ebert and Landsberg represented the Majority and Haase, Dittman and Barth, the Independents. Barth was on the extreme left wing of the Independent Socialists, and close to the Spartacus group, who then cooperated with the Independents. These three groups,—the Majority Social Democrats, the Independent Socialists and the Spartacus group,—while overlapping in their demands, have definite points of cleavage.

The Majority Socialists advocate:

1. The reorganization of the industry of the country and the socialization of certain industries;
2. The safeguarding of the interests of the working class;
3. The constitutional assembly and the conclusion of peace at the earliest possible moment; and
4. The establishment of a political democracy.

The Independent Socialists pursue the middle course. They urge:

1. That the power of the Government be placed, within certain reasonable limits, in the hands of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils.
2. That all members of the bureaucracy of the old imperialistic regime be dismissed from office;
3. That such radical measures as might foment revolutionary activities at home be delayed; and
4. That the social-economic revolution be introduced gradually.

The Spartacus Group—organized on December 30, 1918, into the "Revolutionary Communist Labor Party"—urges:

1. Opposition to the National Assembly;
2. The political supremacy of the proletariat;
3. Immediate social ownership of the means of production, and the repudiation of the war debts incurred by the old regime; and

4. Opposition to the terms of the armistice and defense of the measures adopted by the Soviet Republic of Russia.

The Workmen's and Sailors' Council from the beginning assumed a more radical attitude than the National Commissaires and asked that power be placed in their hands. On the twenty-fifth of November, an agreement was reached between the Government and the Workers' Councils. The main provisions of this agreement were:

1. All political power shall rest in the hands of the German Socialist Republic and the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council;
2. Until an election of an Executive Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council of the German Republic, the Executive Council in Berlin shall carry out the functions of this body;
3. The appointment and dismissal of members of all legislative bodies of the Republic of Prussia, until the adoption of an official constitution, shall be placed in the hands of the Central Executive Council which shall also have the right to supervise their activity; and
4. The Cabinet shall not appoint assistant ministers without previously consulting the Executive Council.

#### THE SPARTACUS REVOLTS

The government failed to live up to this agreement and dissatisfaction with this failure grew apace among the radical elements of the working class—elements which already regarded the Majority Socialists with a critical eye on account of their stand on the war. In place of a reconciliatory attitude, the Ebert group aggressively attacked the left wing, dubbing them "the will-not-work" group, etc. This antagonism gave rise, on December 23, 1918, to a clash between the sailors who sympathized with the Spartacan group and the soldiers who supported the Government. On the same night, the sailors captured the royal palace and the royal stables. On December 24, the government troops, reinforced, opened fire on the Spartacides, and recaptured these buildings after a few hours of fighting, and the killing of some hundred rebels.

The revolt was but a signal for new conflicts. On Christmas night, the building of the *Vorwärts*, the chief Socialist newspaper, was occupied by the Spartacides, and regained the next day by the

Government. Disturbances continued. The Spartacides began to urge a Ledebour-Liebknicht Cabinet. To this demand the *Vorwärts* answered that Ledebour and Liebknicht would not represent more than 5 per cent of the Berlin population and not more than 1 per cent of the German population. The Government in the meanwhile adopted iron methods of suppression. The Independents refused to assume responsibility for these methods, objecting particularly to the killing of the sailors in the royal palace, and, on December 28, the Independents—Haase, Dittmann, and Barth—resigned from the cabinet. Two days later, the Spartacides severed all relations with the Independents and organized the Revolutionary Communist Labor Party. Thereupon the Government demanded that Eichhorn, Chief of Police of Berlin, the last remaining Independent to hold an important office, also resign. This he refused to do on the ground that he received his power from the hands of the revolution, and not from the Majority Socialists.

On January 5, 1919, during this *impasse*, the radical wing organized a big demonstration, in which demands were made for the arming of the proletariat in defense of Eichhorn. Liebknicht, at the gathering, urged the resignation of the Ebert Government. This meeting was the beginning of the second revolt which lasted for two weeks, and ended with the killing of Karl Liebknicht and Rosa Luxemburg. The Government came out of this revolt victorious; the Spartacides, suppressed, killed, jailed, their two principal leaders, Liebknicht and Luxemburg, murdered.

#### THE NATIONAL ELECTIONS

A week following this victory—January 21, 1919—the elections for the National Assembly took place, and, in these elections, the Majority Socialists, who had at their disposal the entire election machinery, won 164 seats and polled 11,112,450 votes, or 39.3 per cent of the total number cast. The Independent Socialists elected 24 delegates and received 2,188,305 votes, or 7.68 per cent of the total for the country. The Christian People's Party, formerly called the Centrists, cast 5,338,854 votes or 18.8 per



cent of the total. The Democrats, who refused to receive in their ranks those who agitated for annexations during the war, and declined to ally themselves with the other bourgeois parties, polled 5,552,930 votes, or 19.5 per cent. Their delegation numbered 77. The German National Party cast 2,739,196 or 9.62 per cent. The German People's Party obtained the smallest vote of any of the larger organizations, its total numbering 1,106,408 or 3.8 per cent.

The result of the election might be regarded as a victory for political democracy. But many there were who were not satisfied with a mere political revolution. They wanted a social revolution, and placed their emphasis on the economic side, demanding the immediate socialization of industry and the establishment of a Socialist Republic. The Government took the attitude that this economic question would be solved in the National Assembly.

#### POLICY OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

The Provisional President of the German Republic was elected on February 12th, and the next day the first Republican Chancellor Scheidemann outlined the policy of the new Government. The foreign policy advocated was as follows:

(1) The bringing about of an immediate conclusion of peace. Adherence to Mr. Wilson's peace principles; (2) Reconstitution of German colonial territory; (3) Immediate return of German prisoners of war; (4) Equal rights in the League of Nations and the abolition of secret diplomacy; and (5) Simultaneous and equal disarmament.

In his internal policy he recommended certain democratic measures as follows:

(1) The raising of general educational standards; (2) the creation of a people's army on a democratic basis for the protection of the Fatherland with a considerable reduction in the period of service and extensive care for war survivors; (3) the socialization of industries which have attained the character of private monopolies; (4) the control of wages and conditions

of employment by the organization of employers and employes; (5) the improvement of public health, the construction of houses, the extension of protection for mothers, and the care of infants and children; and (6) assurance of political liberties.

The new constitution, which is at present being debated—it has passed the second reading—provides in its main features for a Reichstag composed of two chambers, one a popular chamber and the other a chamber chosen by the states. The people's chamber is to be composed of deputies of the German people elected by all men and women over 20 years of age. The lower chamber will be chosen on the principle of proportional representation. The upper chamber is to be composed of representatives of the various states. The term of office of members of both chambers is to be three years.

At present disturbances against the Government are daily occurrences, and, when the time comes for the signing of the peace treaty, Germany may be ruled by a new cabinet. The Government is trying to make concessions to the Workers' Councils by establishing a sort of three-chamber system of Parliament. The future alone will tell whether the Ebert Cabinet is strong enough to maintain itself. This does not at present appear to be the case.

This short sketch would be entirely incomplete without mentioning the death of the learned scholar and most representative Socialist writer, Franz Mehring, which occurred on January 30, 1919, and the assassination of Kurt Eisner, the pioneer of the German Revolution.

When Liebknecht addressed the crowds before the Imperial Palace in November, he declared that the German Revolution was the greatest triumph in modern civilization. Its assured success will be the triumph of a new civilization.

## Two Years of the Russian Revolution

By ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

The revolution of March, 1917, came as a result of the untiring work and incalculable sacrifice of the revolutionary

elements of Russia, and the bitter misery of the people entailed by the great war. The brunt of the revolution was borne

by workers imbued with the Socialist ideal. To them the glory of the revolution was not merely that it brought about political democracy. It meant something more tangible. It presented to them an opportunity to fulfill their program—the establishment of industrial democracy in Russia.

The workers regarded the Revolution as transcending former political upheavals. They recognized that in the past the function of the bourgeoisie was the assumption of the reigns of power upon the overthrow of the feudal order. The bourgeoisie here endeavored to play this rôle, but, unlike the sequence of events in past days, the workers were determined to contest the fruits of the revolution. During former revolutions the bourgeoisie played the part of the liberal. Threatened by the proletariat, it became a counter-revolutionary force.\*

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\* At the time of the March revolution, each of the two political forces—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—were represented by a number of parties.

The chief bourgeois group was, the Octobrist Party, which represented great industrial and landed capital, and was pledged to modernize Russia by establishing constitutional guarantees known to exist in other European states. This party was the controlling party in the fourth Duma, when the revolution broke out, and counted among its distinguished leaders such persons as Rodzianko, the speaker of the Duma; and Gutchkov, the Moscow banker, who entered the first provisional government, as Minister of War. The other bourgeois party was the Constitutionalists-Democrats, which represented the middle class and Russian liberalism. This party, led by Milyukov and Lvov, claimed power at the outbreak of the revolution, and assumed the leadership in the first provisional government. The difference between the Octobrists and the Constitutionalists-Democrats disappeared after the revolution as soon as the Socialists ascended to power.

The parties which represented the great mass of the Russian people—the workers and peasants—were the Social-Democratic Labor Party and the Party of the Socialists-Revolutionists, the first interested primarily in the problems of the workers, and the second devoting itself to the interests of the peasants. Both of the parties adhered to the Socialists' ideal. They differed, however, in interpreting the purpose of the Socialist movement. Each of them in turn was divided roughly into three factions. The differences arose primarily from the issues of the war. The Social-Democratic Party, however, had been di-

### THE RISE OF THE SOVIET

The masses soon began to regard the Soviet—the parliament of their own creation—as the outstanding expression of their will. On the other hand, the provisional government, accepted reluctantly by the bourgeoisie, because of its recognition of the Soviet, and frowned upon by the proletariat because of the fact that it compromised with the bourgeois elements, was tossed about on the troubled sea of Russian political life, making one blunder after another, and delaying decision in regard to land distribution, peace and the socialization of the industries.

"All Power to the Soviets", became the urgent slogan of the radical Socialists—the Bolsheviks—who feared a successful counter-revolution as a result of the prevailing governmental inefficiency under Kerensky. The attempt of the Cossack general, Kornilov, in September, 1917, to proclaim a military dictatorship, and to wrest the power from the people, strengthened the opposition to the coalition policy. The Bolshevik demand became the dominant issue, and as the achievements of the revolution were threatened, the workers raised their voices in favor of a responsible Socialist government, without the admixture of members of other parties. The Soviet, hitherto under the leadership of moderate Socialists, the Mensheviks swung to the left and accepted the Bolshevik formula.

The disappearance of the coalition government, and the establishment in the November revolution of Soviet authority, marked the passing of Socialist-bourgeois cooperation, and the beginning of a new phase of the revolution. From this time on, unity of power, which was lacking during the first eight months of the revolution, was achieved. The Council of People's Commissaries, as the new government led by Lenin and Trotzky is styled, is the creature of the Soviet, and wholly responsible to it.

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vided into two factions for the last fifteen years—the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks—the first representing the more radical tendency in the Socialist movement, and believing, among other things, that it was not necessary to pass through the stage of developed capitalism before socializing industry.



Every project of legislation is submitted to the Soviet, and, if approved, is enforced by the government, as the law of the land. Laws may also be initiated in the Soviet and carried to the Government for execution. Since November, 1917, the Government has been devoting its time and energies, and the energies of all who are willing to help, to the organization of the economic life of Russia.

#### THE PROGRAM OF THE SOVIETS

The government has undertaken to carry out the provisions of their revolutionary program, as conditions warrant, and as it can enlist the aid of qualified persons in working out the details and in executing the reforms. It has abolished various social classes among its citizens. It has separated the church from the state. It has revolutionized the courts and juridical system. It has nationalized the land, through confiscation of church, monastery, state and privately owned lands, without compensation, and has placed them under the supervision of land committees, chosen by the peasant soviets. It has nationalized industry to a considerable extent. To protect the workers, it has provided for democratic management of the factories, shops, mines and other works. It has nationalized the banks and it has provided for a system of social insurance against accident, sickness, unemployment and invalidity. It has remodeled the educational system of the country and is putting into operation other proletarian legislation. Each of the laws is studied by specialists prior to enactment and submitted to the Soviet for full discussion.

#### PEACE AND THE REVOLUTION

In establishing a stable government, and in the attempt to build a new state, the Soviets have been handicapped by the continuance of the world war. The Bolsheviks inaugurated their peace drive under instructions. It was the mandate of the November revolution. They hoped to realize a general movement for a negotiated peace. The secret treaties published by the Bolsheviks revealed the imperialist designs of the Allies of old Russia. The Soviet agreed with Lenin that "the material weakness of Russia forced her to recuperate for internal

reconstruction." Russia went to Brest-Litovsk unaided. Trotzky expected that the German masses would rise up and end the war. There were already some manifestations of sympathy with Russia both in Germany and in Austria. The Bolsheviks returned from the conference defeated, but not crushed. They were unsuccessful in the physical combat, and an annexationist peace was forced upon them. Fearing the loss of both the revolution and the war, they gave up the latter for the time being, to go on with the work of internal reconstruction.

While concluding peace with Germany, revolutionary Russia carried on the struggle against German autocracy in its own way. It continued revolutionary propaganda in the German army and navy through fraternization at the front, and through the use of its embassy in Berlin as a secret center for printing and distributing revolutionary literature. That the world war ended when it did, as a result of a revolution in Germany, was due to the influence of the Russian revolution, and the agitation conducted during the months following the conclusion of peace at Brest-Litovsk.

After the peace treaty with Germany was signed in the early part of 1918, the Soviet Government devoted its attention to the monarchist and bourgeois counter-revolutionary movements, which were being hatched in different parts of the country, largely under the leadership of military adventurers. The chief method employed, the newspapers to the contrary notwithstanding, was that of reaching the soldiers involved in these movements and of winning them away from the reactionary influences. In some cases actual fighting took place, but that always as a last resort. Many members of the middle class, who first boycotted the Soviet Government, later changed their attitude and have recently given of their knowledge and training to the economic and social reconstruction of Russia. Recently has come the military invasion of Russia by allied powers. Without a declaration of war, detachments were landed in Siberia, and on the Murman coast and in the South, with the result that Russia was again thrown into the vortex of war, though the world was supposed to be at peace.

Two years have gone by since the revolution. Russia has taught the world certain great lessons. It has fashioned a state which marks the beginning of a new era in state formation,\* and it has

\* Representatives are elected to the Soviet from occupational rather than from territorial units. Those who contribute to the welfare of the community through manual or mental labor are given the right of suffrage. Such right, however, is denied those who live on unearned income. The electors have complete control over their representatives, and can recall them at any time. Delegates to the Soviets must report to their constituencies and are instructed by them.

emphasized the importance of industrial democracy, as contrasted with political democracy, with the resultant tendency toward a classless society.

Menaced by foreign military forces, the work of social and economic regeneration is now endangered. The Russian revolution is the heritage of the world. It must not be defeated by foreign militarism. It must be permitted to develop unhampered. It must live, so that Russia may be truly free and, through its freedom, blaze the way for industrial democracy throughout the world.

## The Wisconsin Chapter in War Times

By DAVID WEISS, University of Wisconsin, '19.

Wisconsin has been comparatively tolerant toward the University chapter of the I. S. S. during the past four years—a period that will not easily be forgotten by the country's liberals. To be sure a number of misguided individuals sought at times to check and suppress independent and liberal thought in this institution of learning. The faculty, however, despite attack, remained liberal-minded and refused to interfere with our discussion meetings, even at a time when it was economically, and often physically, unsafe for any one to be seen with a radical publication in his possession, or be found at a meeting that smacked of Socialism. "Bolshevism" at that time had not yet been snatched upon by our press; but the term "pro-German" filled the bill quite as well. And when a professor or student allowed himself a little liberty of free thought outside of his study, he always ran the danger of being reported to a government agent.

In spite of this psychological atmosphere, however, the growth of the Wisconsin chapter has been steady. From a membership of less than ten in 1915, the number increased to about fifteen the second year, to twenty-seven the third year, and to fifty-three the present year. The increase in our dues-paying members was gradual; it was the result of persistent efforts, not of agitation, as University rules prohibit political and propaganda organizations,—for Wisconsin is a state institution.

One of the big factors in this success was the fact that the chapter adopted a consistent policy of non-partisanship, and remained throughout a discussion and study, rather than a propagandist organization. Discussions that would inevitably have led to an approval or condemnation of the war were tabooed, and in that way the chapter avoided sharp clashes, which might have led to its disruption. We scheduled, however, several professors for addresses on the causes of the war,—one of them is now in France, a member of President Wilson's party.

### FIRST IMPRESSIONS

A brief review of the chapter during these war years might be of interest. I entered the University in the fall of 1915, and, eight weeks after appearing on the campus, discovered that a chapter existed at the University. At the first small meeting of a dozen students that I attended, I found that the chapter business and a desultory discussion consumed the entire evening. A distinct improvement in the meetings, however, was evidenced in the second semester. We followed the Rand School course, and at each meeting some leaders gave a twenty-minute talk on the topic assigned, followed by a general discussion. The meetings, however, were not productive of any great results.

In the third year, business meetings were practically dispensed with. The



writer took over most of the work of securing speakers, etc., and the meetings were devoted almost entirely to discussion. The membership increased to twenty-seven, and a fairly large group attended most of the gatherings.

#### A PACKED HALL

During the middle of March, 1918, a primary election was held in Wisconsin to nominate a United States senator. The Socialist Party, on entering the contest, adopted a platform that demanded the withdrawal of our troops from Europe, besides giving its approval to the St. Louis platform. This program instantly aroused vigorous hostility in the State to anything and everything tinged with socialism, and socialists in Wisconsin were branded as "traitors," "pro-German," and "disloyal." This attitude of the outside world was soon reflected in the University.

Just before the election, April 5, Adolph Germer, national secretary of the Socialist Party, spoke under the auspices of the Madison Socialist local. A crowd of students, coming from a military review by the University commandant, led by a University instructor, packed the hall half an hour before the meeting began. This action automatically excluded the townspeople from the hall. A stormy meeting followed—a meeting at which some of the students disgraced the fair name of their Alma Mater. But, much to the disgust of certain forces in the community, there was no riot. On the contrary, some of the students, instead of abandoning themselves to the "good time" that they were promised, sat attentively throughout the lecture, and dug deep into their pockets at collection time.

A significant incident connected with the meeting was the fact that one of the papers, expecting a riot, had a special extra all set up, ready to go to press, and newsboys, growing impatient, squeezed their way into the hall to find out why the riot had not broken out.

The next day, the writer, who was on the committee, was pilloried on the front page and on the editorial page of this daily, as well as in the college daily, and our chapter, though it had no part in the meeting, was branded as a "pro-German" organization. A self-appointed

student "loyalty" body had, in the meanwhile, been organized to develop patriotism among the students. At our next two meetings, a person who afterwards turned out to be a federal agent, attended, but never appeared again.

#### THE VISIT OF THE SECRETARY

Then came our most trying experience. During the latter part of April, we arranged a meeting to be addressed by Harry W. Laidler, secretary of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. We also made arrangements to have him address two classes at the University.\* But a week before the gathering, the writer was called before a member of the faculty and asked to explain Dr. Laidler's views on the St. Louis platform. The writer stated that the speaker was lecturing under the auspices of the Society, and not of the Socialist Party, and, therefore, that he saw no reason why he should be questioned as to the lecturer's political views. This was not satisfactory to the professor. The two scheduled talks before the classes were cancelled and the chapter was forbidden to have Dr. Laidler as a speaker, unless he would renounce the St. Louis platform.

Forbidden to meet on the campus, we secured Turner Hall, made famous by the near-riot. This action aroused considerable discussion. The student "loyalty" body, hearing of the meeting, threatened to pack it, turn it into a "loyalty" affair, and then stage a "yellow" paint party. Two days before the meeting the writer was told over the telephone that blood would be spilt, if the chapter attempted to hold its meeting, as the police would give no protection. And, finally, a day before the gathering, a committee of three of our members called on the writer urging that the meeting be called off, to avoid possible trouble.

The writer refused to comply with this request. The committee left, in all probability deploring the fact that the chapter was ruled by a "dictator."

\* Dr. Laidler, during his Middle Western trip, in the Spring, 1918, addressed the economics classes in the University of Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Ohio Wesleyan, Oberlin, University of Michigan, University of Minnesota, etc.

Dr. Laidler came. He had been informed of the conditions under which permission would be granted him to address college classes, and had refused to comply with them. He was told also of the threats which had been made against our proposed meeting. We held our lecture but, because of the threatened riot, and a heavy drizzle that fell all day, not more than a hundred persons ventured to Turner Hall. The gathering throughout was as quiet as a Quaker meeting. After the meeting we were told that the next time Dr. Laidler came we could have a university building for our meeting. Since then, our chapter has prospered.

#### RECENT SUCCESSES

Because of the S. A. T. C. and the influenza ban, which disorganized classes for almost four weeks at the University, during the present college year, we were not able to hold a public meeting until January, when Professor E. A. Ross spoke to more than 250 people on "Reconstruction After the War." We secured eight new members at this meeting. Since then we have had an address on "Bolshevism and the Soviet Government," by Otto F. Carpenter, a talk on "Municipal Reconstruction," by Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, of Milwaukee, and organizer of the Wisconsin chapter, and, at our last meeting, an instructive lecture on "Railroad Reconstruction Policy," by Prof. John R. Commons. A feature of these meetings was the live discussions which followed the formal addresses.

Recently, on account of the misunderstanding and misrepresentation resulting from the name "Socialist Club," the chapter has changed its name to that of "The Social Science Club". This change has proved beneficial, as our membership of fifty-three, the largest on record at Wisconsin, and the big student meetings, well prove.

#### A WORD TO THE WISE

Summing up these few experiences, the writer believes the following suggestions might be helpful to other chapters: 1) a name should not be allowed to stand in the way of the progress of the society; 2) the club should not be a propaganda organization; 3) a committee of three should be empowered to transact all the business, bringing before the club only vital matters; 4) classroom methods should be avoided, as students have their fill of these methods in their regular work; and 5) religious controversies should be tabooed.

Finally, members should never forget that the purpose of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society is "to promote an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women," and that our chapters are not places for forensic display, nor for providing to garrulous individuals practice in the gentle art of "soap-boxery." Moreover, it should be realized that cooperation with a university or college brings better results than the indiscriminate or wholesale condemnation of college rules or college faculty.

## International Notes

### HUNGARY BECOMES SOVIET REPUBLIC

On March 23, 1919, the world was startled by the news of the overthrow of the coalition Government of Hungary and the birth of a Soviet Socialist Republic patterned after the Russian model. The Karolyi Government went out of power as quietly as it came into control. During the latter part of October, the prostration of Austria-Hungary before Italy and the revolutionary forces within left the old Government at Budapest completely disorganized. Thus, when the revolution broke out on the evening of October 31, it rapidly and smoothly overcame all opposition during the night, and, at the break of day, had

triumphed without the shedding of blood. Following the revolution, the Hungarian parliament was dissolved, and the supreme power was exercised by the National Council, consisting of the Karolyi Party, the Social-Democrats, the bourgeoisie and the radicals. The Council appointed Count Michael Karolyi, who had spent years agitating the independence of Hungary, as Premier, while two Socialist Ministers, and a young Socialist, Denesz Diner, assistant of Karolyi in foreign affairs, were appointed members of the cabinet. On November 16, a republic was officially declared with Count Karolyi as president.

### Revolt Against the Karolyi Government

The inability of the Hungarian popula-



tion to obtain food and coal, and disorganization of industry led to increasing discontent with the coalition Government. On the last day of 1918, street demonstrations and riots broke out in Budapest and elsewhere. "Budapest today," declared a news dispatch at that time to the *Chicago Tribune*, "is like a city built over an active volcano. The various organizations supposedly accountable for law and order seem to be tottering. The Russian epidemic of Bolshevism has reached the virulent stage. Famine and freezing are its active allies." Dr. Bela Kun, who had formerly been held as prisoner in Russia and who later worked with the Lenin government, was among the most active of the leaders in the revolt. The prison was besieged and a demand made for the release of all political prisoners. The revolt, however, was finally broken. Further disturbance occurred in January, and in the middle of February, "a Communist revolt broke out with such violence that the Karolyi Government was forced to declare martial law and use troops to retake part of the city under the control of the rebels."

### Socialist Appeal to the Allies

Many appeals were made to the Allies to conclude a peaceful and just peace, and warnings that, unless food could be secured, and industry re-established, the coalition Government could not long endure. Among these appeals was that of the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary, which opposed the extremists of the Communist Party, as follows:

"The Workers' Congress has taken a grave decision. The Hungarian workers address themselves to the workers of the world to urge them not to permit the rights of liberty now acquired by the conquests of the Hungarian People's Republic to be destroyed under the pretext of occupation.

"Our delegates are going to all parts of the world. We shall utilize every method and all mediums in order that the proletariat of Europe especially may understand the situation which menaces democratic Hungary, Hungarian Socialism, and the Hungarian labor movement, and to obtain its effective assistance in this crisis.

"What is happening in Hungary now?

"The revolution, almost without the shedding of blood, overthrew the rotten system of tyranny. The Hungarian People's Republic was born, which is rapidly wiping out the last vestige of feudalism, and is creating in Hungary the most complete democracy and foundations for the development of Socialism.

"The territory of the vanished monarchy is now inundated by the troops of occupation.

### Complaints of Allied Troops

"The liberty of the small nations and the safety of democracy were written upon

the banners of the Entente as long as actual fighting continued and before the war was terminated victoriously for them. Victorious, the Entente floods Hungary with the troops of occupation. But the troops of occupation cannot carry liberty. The Hungarian People's Republic alone effectively created liberty here. But the Entente, which promised to liberate the world from the yoke of German absolutism, has subjected Hungary to the greedy clutch of Rumanian, Serbian, and Czechoslovak imperialisms.

"These imperialisms represent a degree of development inferior to that of the Hungarian democracy. The People's Republic established the most complete liberty of the press, of association, and of assemblage. The troops of occupation suppress the right of association and of assemblage and impose a censorship of the press. The People's Republic has a social policy—the liberty of association and freedom of labor. The troops of occupation destroy our social policy, shackle our private associations and in the place of liberty of labor establish a new serfdom.

"But the occupation of Hungary signifies more than the suppression of the rights gained by the revolution, more than the strangling of the developed labor movement. The occupation signifies the suppression of the possibility of work itself.

"Where there is no coal there is no work. It appears that the troops of occupation consider seriously the ironical remark of Gen. Franchet d'Espéry, who said: 'If your mills cannot operate by steam power, operate them with wind-mills.' The lack of coal means the destruction of our large industries, the bankruptcy of our trade, our villagers in rags, famine in our cities.

"And all this takes place because the former monarchical rulers, today driven from the country, declared war against the Entente in 1914—a war which the conscious proletariat of Hungary abominated from the very depths of its heart, a war which we opposed bitterly to the last moment, a war into which we were driven simply because the monarchical rulers menaced the Hungarians with other nationalities. In fact, the Czecho-Slovak, Rumanian and Serbian regiments did menace us. By this terrorism the chiefs of the monarchy drove the Hungarian workers to battle against those who now occupy Hungary as victors and who now trample down the first fruits of the revolution.

"We ask the proletariat of the world this question: Will the workers of France consent, will the workers of England consent, will the workers of Italy consent, will the proletariat of the world consent that in Hungary the Entente policy of occupation, undertaken under the pretext of establishing order, shall by its effect be equivalent to the counter-revolution?

"We are not pleading for integrity of

territory. What we demand is the integrity of democracy. We do not say that we will refuse to cede a morsel of Hungarian territory; but we do say that they cannot cut Hungary to pieces against the will of the people and without a referendum to secure an expression of the people's will.

### Opposes Reign of Violence

"We know very well that in the interests of a State kept together in the past by violence, we cannot contend before the democracies of the world that in the future violence shall not dismember this State. We demand the reign of right against all forms of violence, and not the reign of violence against the rights of the peoples.

"The counter-revolutionary elements of Hungary, who were stunned at first, have regained consciousness. The reactionary press unanimously opposes the new régime. It attacks principally the national policy of the People's Government. It condemns not only the right of self-determination but exhibits extreme bitterness because the non-Hungarian nations living in Hungary receive autonomy.

"What do these reactionaries mean? Is it possible that they imagine that vanquished Hungary shall maintain against the non-Hungarian nations the brutal domination which it has exercised in the past? The chiefs of the Hungarian reaction, the leaders of the Hungarian counter-revolutionaries, know very well that that is not possible. They well know that they demand an impossible thing. They well know that they are directly injuring the interests of Hungary because they give proof of Hungarian oppression and of its savage chauvinism. These men, who now oppose the national policy of the Government, are conscious traitors to the country.

"But what does this treason matter to them? They intend, in fact, by this method to save their dead domination. By their treasonable actions they wish to excite chauvinistic passions, and they believe that in resurrecting chauvinism they will be able to smother the Socialist movement, now strongly developed.

"But the Hungarian Socialist movement cannot be vanquished by such methods. Why? Because in Hungary now the Socialists alone represent the idea of social progress. Only through Socialism, only through the mutual understanding of the peoples, only with the assistance of the proletariat of the world, is it possible to establish here a country of concord and of productive labor, instead of a war of races and disputes of the peoples.

"The Hungarian people should understand that it is necessary to live in peace with the nations whose home is in Hungary, unless they wish to prolong the world war.

"And the people of Europe should understand that unless they wish that Hun-

gary shall be a center of European conflagration, unless they wish that in this corner of Europe shall start the clouds of the tempest which menaces the tranquillity of Europe, then they should not protect the greedy nationalistic and usurping elements here which are manifesting themselves coincidentally with the troops of occupation. They should, on the contrary, assure the reign of democracy in Hungary and the realization of the veritable rights of nations to dispose of themselves.

"For the nations of Hungary can live in peace with one another. Not, however, under the empire of absolutism and oppression, but only in the most complete liberty and the most complete democracy."

### Communists in Control

These appeals were apparently unheeded. The strength of the Communists increased daily. On March 19, the Entente decided to establish a neutral zone on the Hungarian-Rumanian border, and it was reported that French, Rumanian and Czech troops were to occupy portions of Hungary. Karolyi resigned. This was followed by a bloodless revolution, and by the assumption of the reigns of government by the Revolutionary Government of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Council, and the appointment of Alexander Gorbai as president, Bela Kun as the new foreign minister, and Josephy Pogany, war commissary. The new Government sent greetings to Lenin "as leader of the international proletariat." Lenin returned "communist greetings and a handshake," and suggested permanent wireless communications between the two cities.

The first proclamation of the new Government reads:

"The proletariat of Hungary from today has taken all power in its own hands. By the decision of the Paris Conference to occupy Hungary, the provisioning of revolutionary Hungary becomes utterly impossible. Under these circumstances the sole means open for the Hungarian Government is a dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Legislative, executive and judicial authority will be exercised by a dictatorship of the Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Councils. The Revolutionary Government Council will begin forthwith work for the realization of Communist Socialism.

"The council decrees the socialization of large estates, mines, big industries, banks and transport lines, declares complete solidarity with the Russian Soviet Government, and offers to contract an armed alliance with the proletariat of Russia."

Edward Bing, the United Press Correspondent, in a message from Budapest on March 25, thus describes the situation:

"Everything in the country has been socialized, from the army down to baths.

"This reorganization has been accomplished with apparent approval of the



wealthy and aristocratic, as well as the poor and humble.

"A Red Army is being organized on a purely volunteer basis, conscription being abolished as soon as the Communist government took office. Soldiers are paid \$90 a month. They are clothed, fed and equipped without charge, and, in addition, they receive extra pay for support of their families.

"Army commanders are named by the Commissary of War, all ranks being eligible. Officers are picked purely on their merit, after a careful examination of their records. Indications point to formation of the largest and most contented army in the history of the country.

"Law courts have been abolished and supplanted by revolutionary tribunals, composed of a chairman and two members. They are virtually in continuous session, and justice is meted out rapidly and effectually, with more consideration for real justice than mere law. Punishment is carried out immediately after sentence is pronounced.

"The death penalty can be pronounced only by unanimous vote of the tribunal.

"All industries have been ordered to continue at work. Special committees are

being formed to insure fair distribution of the scanty supply of raw materials.

"Requisitions from private families are forbidden.

"Spreading of false news is severely punished.

"All titles and ranks are abolished.

"Shopkeepers have been ordered to prepare a list of their stocks and bank accounts. This is merely for the information of the government and no attempt will be made to seize either. Steps have been taken to substitute cash for checks whenever possible.

"The Stock Exchange has been ordered to cease operations.

"Public baths must be opened to the labor class and school children, and no charge will be made for them. All private bathrooms, likewise, are at their disposal on Saturdays.

"Hungarian workmen, meeting in various parts of the country, have declared their unanimous approval of the reforms instituted by the Communist government."

Numerous rumors regarding huge red armies from Russia, collusion between Karolyi and the Communists, etc., are abroad. To what extent these have foundation, in fact, it is too early to state.

H. W. L.

## THREE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

### THE BERNE CONFERENCES

Two conferences were held simultaneously at Berne in February, 1919, one a trade union conference which framed a good international labor charter, the other the reunion of the Socialist International. Some had hoped that the third International would arise from the conference, but, at the end of nine days, it adjourned without accomplishing any wonder. In the fervid heat of the times, it proved lukewarm. Only once, we are told, did its temperature rise, namely over the Bolsheviki, and on this it took no action.

Twenty-seven nationalities participated. A great split might have been expected, but it took place beforehand. Belgian Socialists and the Bolsheviki refused to attend, and no official delegates were present from the Socialist parties of Italy, Servia, Rumania and Switzerland. American delegates were held up by the government's refusal of passports. The Communist Party of Russia stated their reasons for not participating:

"The Communist parties of Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, of White Russia, the Ukraine, Poland and Holland are at one with the Russian Communist Party. The latter also regards as its associates the Spartacus Group in Germany, the Communist Party of German-Austria, and other revolutionary proletarian elements of the countries in the old Austria-Hungarian

Empire, the left Social Democrats of Sweden, the revolutionary Social Democracy of Switzerland and Italy, the followers of Maclean in England, of Debs in America, of Lorient in France. In their persons, the third International which is at the head of the world revolution already exists. At the present moment, when the Socialist imperialists of the Entente, who formerly hurled the most violent accusations against Scheidemann, are about to unite with him, and to break the power of Socialism in all countries, the Communist Party considers that unity for the world revolution is an indispensable condition for its success. Its most dangerous enemy now is the yellow international of the Socialist traitors—thanks to whom capitalism still succeeds in keeping a considerable portion of the working class under its influence. For the conquest of power by the workers, let us carry on an implacable struggle against those who are deceiving them—against the pseudo-Socialist traitors."

Like the Paris Peace Conference the Socialist Conference was composed of veterans. The young men of the movement were not there, and hence there was no new leadership to meet the new issues. Also like the Paris Conference, it was swept by waves of nationalist passion and ambition. The effort to reach a compromise on these issues and avoid a break in the ranks seemed to paralyze its power.

But Kautsky pronounced the conference a success, since in spite of all the obstacles placed in its way, it had managed to meet. Also as Lewis Gannett points out in *The Survey*, it was something achieved, that the allied Socialists met the German Socialists and conferred over world problems, and that direct relations were established with the democratic elements in Germany, and that the German Majority Socialists were condemned. It was also an advance on the Paris conference, in that delegates from small and neutral countries were given equal rights to the floor.

Five questions were uppermost:

1. The responsibility for the war: An ambiguous resolution passed condemning German imperialism. This debate occupied an unimportant place.

2. The League of Nations: Resolutions adopted similar to those of the inter-allied Socialist and labor conferences. It demanded a league of peoples not of governments and representation by weak nations. It influenced the Peace Conference to raise the number of delegates per nation from two to three.

3. A Labor Charter: Approval of the recommendation of the trade union conference sitting at the same time, which contained the traditional demands of labor.

4. Territorial questions: resolutions for self-determination, plebiscites, protection of minorities, condemning forced annexations and determination of frontiers according to military considerations.

5. Bolshevism: The majority favored the Branting resolution condemning the dictatorship of the proletariat. Adler, Loriot, Mistral, Longuet, Macdonald opposed this. A strong minority including six of the ten French Socialists, one German (Herzfeld) and Greek, Norwegian, and Irish delegates refused to condemn the Soviet government until they knew more about it.

C. L.

### MOSCOW CONGRESS

Of a much more radical nature than the Berne Conference was the International Communist Congress, held in Moscow in late March, a conference which may mark the beginnings of an entirely new organ for the international proletariat. The call to the first Congress of the new revolutionary Internationale, signed by the representatives of groups in nine countries and countersigned by G. Tchitcherin, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared that, during the war, the Socialist and Social-Democratic parties were bankrupt, and that the revolution was "in danger of being stifled by the alliance of capitalist states, which are forming a coalition against the revolution under the hypocritical banner of the 'league of nations'." It

declares that the attempt of the parties which have been "traitors to the Internationale" to unite and "to help their government and the bourgeoisie to deceive the working classes," as well as the "extraordinary revolutionary experience and the internationalization of the whole revolutionary movement" requires the convocation of this congress.

In dealing with the aims of the congress, the call stated that it was the task of the proletariat at once to take possession of the governmental power; that the "new governmental apparatus should incorporate the dictatorship of the working class, and, in some places, that also of the small peasants and agricultural laborers," and that such dictatorship should aim "at the immediate expropriation of capital and the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, with its transformation into ownership by the people."

"The main problems that confront us today," it continued, "are: (a) The socialization of the large industries and their central organization, the banks; (b) The confiscation of the lands of the great landholders, and the socialization of capitalist agricultural production; (c) The monopolization of trade; (d) The socialization of the great buildings and houses in the cities and on estates; (e) The introduction of the administration by the workers and the centralization of the economic functions in the hands of the organs of proletarian dictatorship."

"The term 'socialization,' as herein used, means the abolition of private property and its transfer to the ownership of the proletarian state and the Socialist administration of the working class."

In order to make the Socialist revolution secure, the call declared that "the disarming of the bourgeoisie and of its agents and the general arming of the proletariat" was necessary. "The present world situation," it continued, "demands the closest relation between the different parts of the revolutionary proletariat and a complete union between the countries in which the Socialist revolution has been victorious."

The call asserted that the old Internationale had split into three principal groups: "the openly patriotic Socialists, who, during the whole imperialistic years 1914 to 1918, have supported their own bourgeoisie; the minority Socialists who have changed into a 'Center Party' whose leader at present is Kautsky, and which constitutes an organ composed of always hesitant elements incapable of a determined attitude, and who until now have really acted as traitors; lastly the revolutionary Left Wing." Communists should proceed against the social-patriots and should divide the center, drawing to the Left Wing the revolutionary section.

They proposed that "the representatives of the following parties, groups, and tendencies take part in the congress as pleni-



potentiary members of the labor Internationale: (1) the Spartacus League (Germany); (2) the Bolsheviks or Communist Party (Russia); the Communist parties of (3) German Austria; (4) Hungary; (5) Finland; (6) Poland; (7) Esthonia; (8) the Lettish provinces; (9) Lithuania; (10) White Russia; and (11) the Ukraine; (12) the revolutionary elements among the Czechs; (13) the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party; (14) the Rumanian Social-Democratic Party; (15) the Left Wing of the Serbian Social-Democratic Party; (17) the Norwegian Social-Democratic Party; (18) in Denmark those groups standing for the class struggle; (19) the Dutch Communist Party; (20) the revolutionary elements of the Belgian Labor Party; (21) and (23) the groups and organizations within Socialist and trade union (syndicalist) movement of France, which, as a whole, are solidary; (23) the Left of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party; (24) the Italian Socialist Party; (25) the elements of the Left in the Spanish Socialist Party; (26) the elements of the Left in the Portuguese Socialist Party; (27) the British Socialist Party (the elements in it most nearly approaching us are those represented by MacLean); (28) I. S. P. R. (England); (29) I. W. W. K. (England); (30) I. W. W. (Great Britain); (31) the revolutionary elements in the labor organizations of Ireland; (32) the revolutionary elements among the shop stewards (Great Britain); (33) S. L. P. (America); (34) the elements of the Left of the American Socialist Party (tendencies represented by Debs and by the Socialist Propaganda League); (35) American I. W. W. (Workers of the World); (36) I. W. W. (Australia); (37) American Workers' International Industrial Union; (38) the Socialist groups of Tokio and of Samoa represented by Genkhayama; (39) the Young People's Socialist Internationale.

Appended to the clause were the following names:

1. Cooperation on the part of the Spartacus group is expected.
2. The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Lenin-Trotsky).
3. The Foreign Bureau of the Communist Party of Hungary (Rudniowsky).
4. The Foreign Bureau of the Communist Party of Poland (Manchiewsky).
5. The Foreign Bureau of the Communist Party of German Austria (Duda).
6. The Russian Bureau of the Communist Party of Lettland (Rosin).
7. The Central Committee of Finland (Sirola).
8. The Executive Committee of the Balkan Revolutionary Social-Democratic Federation (Rakowski).
9. For the S. L. P. (American) (Reinstein).

(Signed) - For the above,  
G. Tchitcherin.

The Congress opened the middle of March, with delegates present from Germany, France, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden and Austria, India and Ireland. Reinstein stated that he was a representative of the United States. As many of the sessions were secret, it is impossible to tell the exact outcome of the conference. According to news dispatches, the conference discussed methods of propaganda in other countries, deciding to wait until the signing of peace before conducting its most vigorous propaganda. The dispatches state: "In a special meeting of the conference, McLean, Debs, and Loriot were respectively elected presidents of the future Soviet republics of England, America and France. . . . Eichhorn was designated in place of Liebknecht as future chief of the Soviets of Germany, and the same position in Hungary was assigned to the Hungarian Communist leader Bela Kun."

### THE COOPERATIVE INTER-ALLIED CONFERENCE

In mentioning important international gatherings of the workers, that of the co-operators, held in Paris during the month of February, should not be ignored. French, English, Scotch, Irish, Italian, Belgian, Russian (Archangel government), Greek, Czechoslovak and American co-operators were represented at this conference, while greetings were received from the Serbs, Rumanians and Poles. The co-operators of the Central Powers, however, were not present, and their exclusion gave rise to vigorous protests from the Italians. For technical reasons, on account of the absence of these groups, the gathering could not be regarded as an official meeting of the International Cooperative Alliance, although it was attended by the president and secretary of that organization.

Several important steps were taken. The conference decided to establish an inter-allied cooperative office in aid of the co-operators of the invaded regions. Distinct encouragement was given to the idea of an international cooperative wholesale, and the beginnings of such a wholesale were seen in the establishment during the past year by the Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish wholesales of the Nordisk Andelsforbund, a joint purchasing agency. The 1916 resolution was confirmed favoring an international bureau of commercial statistics and information.

And, finally, the conference approved the league of nations draft submitted by Professor Charles Gide, which, among other things, demanded the extension of Inter-Allied Supply Commission, for the purpose of providing for the equitable distribution of food among the nations; international control of transport, an international office of economic statistics; general com-

mercial treaties which place all nations on an equal footing; tariff for revenue only, an international financial system, etc.

During the conference reports were given of the marvelous growth of cooperation during the past year, and of the aid given by the movement to recently formed revolutionary governments. (See Lewis S. Gannett's Article in *The Survey*, April 5, 1919.)

H. W. L.

### ENGLAND

The election in England in November has been regarded by many as merely a trick of Lloyd George to secure a majority while the public mind was full of the great victory. The Premier promised the taxpayers that the costs of the war would come out of Germany, and rang the changes upon Wilson's fourteen points in such a way as to please all people. The working class was intent upon getting back its old pre-war standing and perfecting its new organization methods and so scornful of the government that it neglected to vote. A huge majority was thus obtained.

There were 20 million voters on the register, of which only about 5 million voted for the victorious coalition and 4½ million for other candidates, while 10 million did not vote at all. The results were:

Coalition .....	528
Labor .....	65
Independents .....	8
Liberals .....	25
Irish Nationalists .....	8
Sinn Feiners .....	69
Returns to come.....	4
Total.....	707

Since the election the railway workers, miners, locomotive engineers and firemen, longshoremen, shipyard, electrical and public service workers, waiters, police, tramway men, etc., have engaged in great strikes and have threatened even more extensive ones. The usual strike demand of late has been for a 40 or 44-hour week with a 20 to 30 per cent increase of wages, but the significant fact is that the demand for wages and hours is now prefaced by declarations favoring the immediate socialization of the railways and mines, the solution of the land problems, abolition of conscription and the restoration of all civil liberties, against intervention in Russia and for the instant release of conscientious objectors and political prisoners.

The Christian Science Monitor declares that "these movements are mostly unofficial, not approved by the national executives of the unions, whose position has now become critical and intolerable."

The government has stood by half paralyzed, telling the union officials that it is their place to discipline their members. Royal Enquiry Boards, Industrial Councils and Commissions have been established in

order to take the edge off of the discontent. The parliamentary labor men, Socialists, and union leaders and officials offer little but the call: "Wait for another election. By that time the reaction will have subsided. Then we will win." This seems futile to the 10 million workers who refused to use the ballot in November. The general feeling in regard to these leaders seems to be that, at the beginning of the war, without as a rule consulting the rank and file of the organizations, the leaders bargained away the workers' rights and privileges for a price which the government now refuses to pay. This explains the tendency to the left and the big sweep of the shop steward plan of organization in its scorn of the representative system and of the ballot box.

### The Shop Steward System

The shop steward system is frankly similar to the Russian Soviet and the power thus exerted and to be exerted fascinates the British worker, whether he is a trade unionist or an unorganized worker. It means: "that in every factory, yard, workshop, or similar area of production, the workers should be so organized that in every department or unit of operation there would be a delegate appointed from amongst their number, a delegate whose qualifications for the work would simply be his or her ability to accept and carry out instructions, without regard particularly to either sex or craft. The workers in the plant would thus have the responsibility of production, and would be in a position to determine the conditions under which production could best be carried on. Those delegates drawn from each department would form a committee for the plant or workshop and would be responsible for expressing the desires of the workers, and could be withdrawn as easily as chosen. The frequent meetings that could be held, daily if necessary, make the delegation of power totally unnecessary. Given this organization, a delegate would then be elected to a central committee for the district, and in this way would be organized the production resources of the district, when the time came for the workers to operate the industries." The British worker like his brother in Russia has caught the vision of "all power to the working class" and seems inclined to reach out for it in his own way.

G. S.

### FRANCE

Economic conditions in France have not improved since the signing of the armistice. The people are suffering bitterly. There has been no demobilization, but soldiers' wages, about 12 cents a day, with an allowance for dependent families, are insufficient. Munitions factories are still running, as the government fears to shut down and cope with unemployment. The



number of unemployed women, however, is increasing daily. The government is meeting this by attempting to regulate work so that all women needing work may obtain at least a minimum existence. The wages paid under these conditions are pitifully inadequate, especially in view of the high prices prevailing.

Added to this, the government is virtually bankrupt. The budget for this year is 18 billions of francs and the revenue in sight is 8 billions. Taxes include 7 billions. The fiscal receipts must therefore be increased by 11 billions. The working people of France cannot bear any increased burden. A member of the Paris Municipal Council writes that inevitably the wealth of the rich must be conscripted to cover this huge indebtedness.

In early February, the workers on the Paris lines and metropolitan railway conducted a general "one-minute" strike, when all trains stopped for one minute and the workers in the yards and workshops for a quarter of an hour in order to indicate the solidarity of labor and to warn the companies what might be expected if they continue to refuse the men's demands.

The General Federation of Labor laid before the French government a program demanding that it be submitted to the Peace Conference. The chief clauses were:

"1. The powers signing the treaty of peace should proclaim their intention of bringing about, by international legislation upon labor, humane conditions of work in safeguarding maternity, family life, social life, the general and professional instruction of the child, physical and moral health, and the development of the population.

"Among the specific safeguards suggested for bringing about these humane conditions are included the fixing of fourteen years as the age of admission to labor, the establishment of a rest day and a half per week, the universal eight-hour day, equality of wages and conditions of work as between foreign labor and the native workers in a given country.

"2. The powers should provide periodical international conferences of labor, the conferences to comprise delegates of the various national organizations of employers and employees.

"An entirely new departure in the policy of the General Federation of Labor is its decision to go into politics, and to become virtually a counterpart of the Labor Parties in other countries."

#### Protests Against League of Nations

All progressive elements are now showing themselves bitterly disappointed over the constitution of the League of Nations. The General Federation of Labor has issued the following manifesto:

"The Permanent Administrative Commission of the General Confederation of

Labor of France, expressing the sentiments of the organized workers, does not regret the solid support it has given to President Wilson in his efforts to secure a just and durable peace. But the Commission is compelled to state that the efforts and warnings of labor have not been sufficiently heard by the diplomats and the responsible governments. In the project of the League of Nations which they have placed before the peoples they have refused to take cognizance of anything save a treaty of defensive alliance scarcely different from those which have hitherto been concluded by the governments.

"The peoples yearn for a definite peace, and in their plain good sense they have condemned every international political policy based upon diplomatic finesse and the balance of the military powers.

"What the peoples desire is a Society of Nations comprising all nations, and based, as stated by the resolution adopted by the International Trade Union Conference at Berne, upon the military disarmament of all the States, the rational and scientific organization of labor, international labor protection, international rationing of raw material, and the internationalization of the means of transportation and exchange.

"The Commission insists that the Society of Nations should not be simply an association of government officials, but should be established upon the will and through the participation of all the peoples. The Commission, therefore, asks the French labor organizations to support this point of view, which alone expresses the desires of the workers of the entire world.

"In the presence of the project of the League of Nations adopted by the representatives of the allied governments and associated governments at Paris, the Administrative Commission informs the labor organizations that it is their duty to rally to the support of the position taken by the International Trade Union Conference at Berne, which stated: 'In society as it exists today, if the working class desires to prevent the League of Nations from becoming the center of reaction and repression against the workers of every country, the proletarians must organize internationally in such a way that their power shall become the controlling factor in the League.'"

It has also issued the following statement:

"We will only accept a peace based on principles condemning the spirit of intrigue and cupidity.

"We will repudiate any rectification of frontiers inspired by the desire for conquest.

"We condemn continuation of armed intervention in Russia.

"We will decline responsibility for social events which will happen in case our representatives to the peace conference systematically disregard the popular aspirations of labor, which are in accord with all humanity."

The French Socialists who had espoused President Wilson and his fourteen points with enthusiasm have now vigorously protested against the League of Nations draft. Official statements of condemnation were published by L. O. Frossard, executive-secretary of the Socialist Party, by Marcel Cachin, leader of the Socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies, and editor of *L'Humanité*, as well as Paul Taure, editor in-chief of *Le Populaire*. M. Frossard declares that "there is no security for tomorrow. The policy of armaments is maintained. The peoples are once more abandoned to imperialistic rivalries and plutocratic appetites. This, in the last analysis, is the pitiful result of the generous effort of President Wilson."

Since the armistice the Party and the Federation of Labor have been conducting an active campaign against "the chauvinistic incitements of the press."

### JAPANESE SOCIALISTS AGAINST INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA

The Socialists of Japan were the strong opponents of Japanese intervention in Russia and persistently antagonized their government when Motono decided to send troops into Siberia in 1918. The government arrested five of the leaders of the Socialist Party for their opposition to the government's interventionist policy, but, in spite of this, the party carried on its work.

At a meeting held in Tokio the Socialists passed a resolution expressing their sympathy with the Russian Revolution, as well as their joy over the fact that the workers turned it into a social revolution, and urged the international organization of the working class to fight the common enemy—international capitalism.

The resolution was sent to the Bolshevik Government by the executive committee of the organized Socialists in Tokio and Yokohama and appears in a late issue of the "*Petrogradskola Pravda*." The letter and accompanying resolution follow:

"Comrades of Russia:

"Since the beginning of the Russian revolution we have followed with enthusiasm your enterprising activity. Everything accomplished by you has an enormous influence upon the psychology of our people.

"We indignantly protested against sending Japanese troops into Siberia because we feared that their presence there might hinder the free development of your revolution. We are profoundly sorry that our numerical weakness does not permit us to prevent the danger with which you are

menaced by the action of our government. Persecuted as we are, we cannot give you material aid. But we assure you that the Red Flag of the Revolution will soon float over Japan.

"We inclose a copy of a resolution recently adopted by

"Fraternally yours,

"The Executive Committee of the Socialists of Tokio and Yokohama."

The text of the resolution follows:

"We, the Socialists of Japan in session at Tokio, express our deep sympathy with the Russian Revolution. We recognize that the Russian Revolution, which was at first a political revolution of the bourgeoisie against absolutism, has become a revolution of the proletariat against the capitalist regime.

"The transformation of the Russian Revolution from a political revolution into a social revolution interests the workers the world over. In every country capitalism has reached its highest development under the form of unrestrained imperialism.

"The Socialists of every country should energetically undertake to bring about a resumption of international relations, and all the forces of the international proletariat must be mobilized and directed against the common enemy—international capitalism.

"The Socialists of Russia and of all other countries should do everything in their power to assist the workers in the belligerent countries to direct their energies against the dominant class in their respective countries rather than against other workers.

"We have faith in the heroism of the Russian Socialists. We are convinced that their revolutionary spirit will spread to other countries."

According to the Japanese government's Annual for 1918, there are 129,650 persons employed in the cotton industry in Japan. Of these, 103,018 were women and girls. The number of daily working hours were 20, which means that there were double shifts of ten hours each. The average daily wage of the men was 50 sen, equal to about 25 cents, and that of the women, 32 sen, or about 16 cents. Out of a total of 772,391 looms engaged on silk or cotton goods, 616,077 were worked by hand.

### AUSTRALIA

A "One-Big-Union" campaign is swinging along vigorously in Australia—a movement to unite all workers in one union so that they may act as a unit instead of separately as in the craft or trade unions. "The One Big Union Herald" is the official organ of the movement. In Australia 4½ per cent of the people own 78 per cent of



the wealth. The bitterest opponents of the One Big Union movement are the 4½ per cent. An interstate conference of labor delegates met in Melbourne early in January and adopted the main part of the constitution of the organization. The object of the union, according to the constitution, is "to bind together in one organization all wage workers in every industry to achieve the purposes set forth in the preamble." The preamble declares that the primary purpose of the organization is to secure the "abolition of capitalistic class ownership of the means of production and the establishment in its place of social ownership by the whole community." The organized labor movements of two of the largest and most populous of the six Australian states, New South Wales and Queensland, have already adopted the One-Big-Union principles. As soon as the interstate conference completes its work, the matter will be presented to the executive committees of the unions throughout Australia and is expected to receive overwhelming approval.

#### **Working to Abolish the Queensland Senate**

The Socialist workers of Queensland are campaigning to abolish their Legislative Council. The parliament of Queensland consists of the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly. The Assembly corresponds to our state and federal House of Representatives and is elected by popular vote. The Council corresponds to our state and federal Senate and is appointed by the Governor who is himself appointed by the Crown of Great Britain. It consists of capitalists and their representatives who have persistently blocked the important measures of the labor party which controlled the Assembly in 1915, and again in 1918 by a two-thirds majority.

The Labor Party has put the machinery in operation which will enable it to submit the question to the referendum vote of the people. The Parliamentary Bills Referendum Act provides that when a bill passed by the Assembly at two successive sessions and defeated by the Council seems important to the administration, it may be submitted to the people's referendum, and if passed becomes a law. The Constitution Amendment Act abolishing the Council was introduced in the present parliament, passed by the Assembly and defeated by the Council. At the next session it will again be defeated and the question will then go to the people for decision. The present parliamentary recess is being utilized by the Labor Party to carry on a vigorous campaign for the act.

#### **The Australian Espionage Law**

The labor and Socialist officials have addressed a memorial to the Prime Minister demanding the immediate repeal of the War Precautions Act. It states:

"Britons the world over point to their

traditional liberties as evidence of the superiority of their institutions. All these liberties have been annihilated by the War Precautions Act." It objects to the sending of detectives to labor meetings. It protests against the imprisonment without trial of persons arrested on suspicion, against the abolition of habeas corpus proceedings, the arbitrary deportation of agitators, the invasion, without warrant, of the privacy of homes by the military, the taking away of power of justice to grant bail, and the usurpation of the legislative functions of parliament by the executive. C. L.

#### **CANADA**

The one-big-union idea has not stopped with Australian labor. The Canadian workers have taken up the shibboleth, and at the Western Canadian labor conference, on March 16, of this year, unanimously adopted a resolution favoring the establishment of one big industrial union. Following the Australian model, they likewise appointed a committee of five from various parts of the section represented, for the purpose of carrying out the resolution, should the rank and file, through a referendum, approve of the recommendation of the conference. Representing, as the conference did, practically all of the American Federation of Labor locals or general bodies of the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario, the action of the 242 delegates present was of undoubted significance. The adoption of this proposal by the membership will probably involve the severance of the affiliations of these unions with the A. F. of L. The recommended name of the new organization is "The One Big Union."

The conference passed the following revolutionary declaration: "Industrial Soviet control by selection of representatives from industries is more efficient and of more value to producers than the present form of Canadian political government, and we accept without alteration the principle of proletarian dictatorship as a means of transforming society from a capitalistic to a communal basis."

Resolutions for the abolition of the censorship of the press, for the abolition of restrictions on the rights of free speech and for the release of all political prisoners held in Canadian jails were also passed. Refusal of the authorities to accede to these demands, it was voted, would result in a referendum for a general strike for June 1. The delegates also demanded the six-hour day, five days a week by June 1.

#### **THE UNITED STATES**

##### **The Socialist Party**

The Socialist Party has recently started a vigorous membership campaign, and

reported, in January, 1919, a membership of 109,000 as compared with 82,000 of a few months before. At its meeting in January, the National Executive Committee of the Party voiced its attitude toward the Labor Party, in part as follows:

"The formation of labor parties in several of the larger cities has aroused the interest of members of the Socialist Party. This new political party, an expression of the radicalism of the times, as well as a protest against the conservatism of the American Federation of Labor, may spread to other industrial centers. In view of this possibility, we, the national executive committee of the Socialist Party, remind every Socialist Party member:

"1. That state and national constitutions of the Socialist Party forbid members from joining any other political organization.

"2. That indorsement of any other political organization by any member of subdivision of the Socialist Party is equally prohibited.

"3. That even though the new Labor Party may proclaim in favor of industrial democracy, may enunciate the fact of the class struggle, and may profess internationalism, the history of all such organizations has shown that they must be judged by their deeds rather than their promises.

"Socialist Party members are asked to view this new political venture in the light of these facts. They should understand that it was the persistent and uncompromising attitude of the Socialist Party, together with the sweep of late events, which accounts for the radical expressions in Labor Party platforms. It is only by continuing our position and economic interpretation of events that we can hope to organize the workers so they will not only declare for industrial democracy, but will act through the Socialist Party to gain this goal.

"On the other hand, our members must realize the futility of destructive criticism of this new Labor Party. Where the Labor Party is dominated by old party politicians and corrupt influences, there we must oppose the Labor Party. But where it is a rank-and-file movement, declaring for independent political action, based upon the class struggle, we must refrain from criticism, which would result in enmities and hostilities."

The Party, during the last few months, has been compelled to spend much of its energy in defense of its indicted leaders. In February, 1918, Victor L. Berger, editor of the *Milwaukee Leader*, Adolph Germer, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, J. Louis Engdahl, formerly editor of the *American Socialist*, William F. Kruse, secretary of the Young People's Socialist League, and Irwin St. John Tucker, Episcopal clergyman, and for a

while Middle Western Organizer of the I. S. S., were indicted on the charge of obstructing recruiting and enlistment and causing insubordination, etc., in violation of the Espionage Act.

These defendants were tried during the latter part of 1918; on January 8, 1919, were pronounced guilty, and on February 20, were sentenced by Judge K. M. Landis to twenty years each in the Federal prison. The trial judge refused to grant them a stay or to permit their release on bail, but Judge Aischuler placed them under \$25,000 bail. Bail was supplied by William Bross Lloyd. The defendants are now appealing to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. "Such a sentence during the duration of the war could have been justified as a deterrent," comments the *New York World*, "but at this time it serves no good purpose whatever."

### Trial of Debs

In some ways more spectacular than the foregoing cases was the trial of Eugene V. Debs, four times candidate for President of the United States on the Socialist Party ticket. In June, 1918, Mr. Debs delivered a speech in Canton, Ohio, in which he referred to the sentence imposed on Rose Pastor Stokes and declared, among other things, that, if she were guilty of a crime against the United States, he was no less guilty. He was indicted on three counts under the Espionage Act, tried before a Cleveland jury, where he was the only witness, and was sentenced to ten years in jail. In his address to the court, Mr. Debs declared that he looked upon the Espionage Act as "a despotic enactment in flagrant conflict with democratic principles and with the spirit of free institutions"; that he was opposed to the present form of the present Government, and to the social system in which we live, and that he believed "in the change of both—but by perfectly peaceful and orderly means." He asserted that at present five per cent of the people own two-thirds of the wealth, and that it is this five per cent who control the destiny of the nation. He continued in part:

"I believe, Your Honor, in common with all Socialists, that this nation ought to own and control its industries. I believe, as all Socialists do, that all things that are jointly needed and used ought to be jointly owned—that industry, the basis of life, instead of being the private property of the few and operated for their enrichment, ought to be the common property of all, democratically administered in the interest of all. . . .

"There are today upwards of sixty million Socialists, loyal, devoted adherents to this cause, regardless of nationality, race, creed, color or sex. They are all making common cause. They are all spreading the propaganda of the new social order. They are waiting, watching and working through all the weary hours of the day and night.



They are still in the minority. They have learned how to be patient and abide their time. They feel—they know, indeed—that the time is coming in spite of all opposition, all persecution, when this emancipating gospel will spread among all the peoples, and when this minority will become the triumphant majority, and, sweeping into power, inaugurate the greatest change in history.

"In that day we will have the universal commonwealth—not the destruction of the nation, but, on the contrary, the harmonious cooperation of every nation with every other nation on earth. In that day war will curse this earth no more.

"I have been accused, your Honor, of being an enemy of the soldier. I hope I am laying no flattering unction to my soul when I say that I don't believe the soldier has a more sympathetic friend than I am. If I had my way there would be no soldiers. But I realize the sacrifice they are making, your Honor. I can think of them. I can feel for them. I can sympathize with them. That is one of the reasons why I have been doing what little has been in my power to bring about a condition of affairs in this country worthy of the sacrifices they have made and that they are now making in its behalf. . . .

"Your Honor, I ask no mercy. I plead for no immunity. I realize that finally the right must prevail. I never more clearly comprehended than now the great struggle between the powers of greed on the one hand and upon the other the rising hosts of freedom.

"I can see the dawn of a better day of humanity. The people are awakening. In due course of time they will come to their own."

Mr. Debs appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States on the ground that the St. Louis Socialist Platform, and records from the trial of Rose Pastor Stokes had been admitted in evidence and that he had been tried on his "state of mind." The Court, however, sustained the conviction of the defendant, and, without passing directly on the constitutionality of the Espionage Act, in effect did declare valid the so-called enlistment section and reaffirmed its opinion that the Espionage Act is not an interference with the constitutional right of free speech. Later Debs asked for a rehearing on the ground that the court had failed to decide all of the questions involved in the case, but, in late March, this rehearing was denied.

#### O'Hare, Nearing and Others

Kate Richards O'Hare, one of the most prominent women Socialists in this country, and at one time secretary of the International Socialist Bureau for the United States, was sentenced some time ago to a five years' term of imprisonment for a speech made in Fargo, North Dakota—a speech that had been delivered scores of

times in different parts of the country. Mrs. O'Hare has now been ordered to report to the United States Marshal at Fargo on April 12, for her term of imprisonment. The case had been appealed to the United States Supreme Court and the conviction sustained.

Following a short trial, in New York City, for violation of the Espionage Law, for writing and publishing "The Great Madness," Scott Nearing was acquitted in early March by the New York jury. The American Socialist Society—the Rand School,—however, was fined \$3000 by Judge Mayer for publishing and distributing this pamphlet. The case is now on appeal. Rose Pastor Stokes, sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, is awaiting the appeal decision now before the Supreme Court. Among the Socialists whose sentences were commuted in early March by President Wilson was Frederick Krafft, state secretary of the Socialist Party, in New Jersey, convicted under a state statute. Several prominent Socialists have been sentenced to Fort Leavenworth as conscientious objectors, among them Carl Haessler, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, a Rhodes scholar, a former lecturer in philosophy at the University of Illinois, and active there in I. S. S. work.

Of special interest at present in Party circles in the East is the campaign recently launched by the New York *Call*, for \$100,000 for the purchase of a printing plant. The greater portion of this amount has already been raised.

The opening months of 1919 have also witnessed a vigorous discussion between the recently formed Left-wing and the other members of the Party in regard to future party tactics, particularly the desirability of retaining the "immediate demands" in the Socialist Party platform.

Unable to secure for its representatives passports to Europe during the war, the Party has found it necessary following the armistice to develop its contacts again with the Socialist movements abroad and has recently sent James Oneal of the *Call*, and member of the National Executive Committee to the Continent for that purpose.

Frequent bills have been proposed of late in states and in the federal government against the display of the red flag in public, and investigations of radical movements have been launched. The New York State Legislature, for instance, has just appropriated \$50,000 to study the extent of Bolshevism in the state—while refusing to pass any constructive legislation worthy of the name.

In the April 1, 1919, elections, Socialists were unsuccessful in Milwaukee, although the party vote for certain of the offices greatly exceeded that of the previous election. For the Circuit Court bench, John C. Kleist, Socialist, received 27,701 votes, 2,402 behind his nonpartisan opponent.

The vote was 13,383 greater than that received by him two years ago. Joseph A. Padway, Socialist, candidate for District Circuit judgeship, polled 2,042 less than his nonpartisan opponent, Judge George E. Page, who received 28,072 votes.

In Chicago, however, the Socialist vote, with the advent of the Labor Party, came to a slump. The Socialist candidate for Mayor, John W. Collins, received 23,105, while the Labor Party candidate obtained 54,567. Thompson, the successful candidate, polled 257,888.

### Social Democratic League

In January, Charles Edward Russell and William English Walling visited Europe as representatives of the Social Democratic League. The League has also sent a message to the European Socialists declaring that the democratic Socialists were opposed to imperialism and Bolshevism and that their position in this respect was identical with that of President Wilson.

In Paris, Messrs. Russell and Walling issued several bitter attacks against the Berne Conference. Frank Bohn, another member, went to the Conference, but was refused permission to speak as representative of the Social Democratic League.

The editor has received a letter from Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes, treasurer of the Social Democratic League, relative to the statement regarding the League, appearing in the October-November issue of the I. S. The statement was printed prior to the October session referred to by Mr. Stokes, at which Mr. Russell was elected chairman. It reads as follows:

"Won't you kindly correct in the next issue of *The Intercollegiate Socialist* the very erroneous statements relative to the Social Democratic League that were published in your October-November number?"

"In your October-November number it was stated that the Social Democratic League was a non-dues paying organization whose affairs were conducted chiefly by its officers. As a matter of fact, the League is a dues paying organization, having upwards of 1,100 dues paying members. The dues are one dollar per annum.

"As to the manner in which the League conducts its affairs, your October-November statement has, I am sure, created a widespread erroneous impression among your readers. The League's affairs are conducted by a National Executive Committee of fifteen members, of which Committee Mr. Charles Edward Russell, President of the League, is ex-officio Chairman. This National Executive Committee was elected by the National Committee of the League at its two-days' session in this city October 26th and 27th, 1918.

"Prior to the election of the National Executive Committee the affairs of the League had been administered by a Na-

tional Administrative Committee elected by a referendum vote of the eighty-seven members of the Organization Committee, a national body having in its membership representatives from twenty-seven states.

"Mr. Henry Slobodin was for many months chairman of this National Administrative Committee.

"The National Administrative Committee held frequent sessions throughout the Summer and Fall of 1918, and until it was supplanted by the National Executive Committee on October 27th. The latter Committee has met twice since its organization. In the intervals between the meetings of the administrative and executive committees, the affairs of the League were and are of course transacted by the League's officers.

"Sincerely yours,

"J. G. Phelps Stokes."

### Labor Parties

New labor parties throughout the country are now considering the holding of a national conference for the purpose of organizing a National Labor Party. The Illinois State Federation of Labor, which has endorsed the labor party idea, has issued a call to various organizations urging them to send delegates to Springfield, Illinois, on April 10th, for the purpose of forming a state wide party.

In Chicago, the Independent Labor Party has started a paper, the **New Majority**, which, in a recent number, bitterly attacked the conviction of Berger and published the constitution of the Soviet Republic. In its city campaign platform, the party advocated the public ownership of public utilities, municipal markets and cold storage plants and attacked the lack of democracy in the public schools. It also urged various labor enactments and home rule. John Fitzpatrick, candidate for Mayor, obtained somewhat more than 50,000 votes.

The Independent Labor Party of New York, organized on January 12, 1919, at the Yorkville Casino, and, endorsed by the Central Federated Union of New York and the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, has adopted a platform which smacks of the British Labor Party program. It demands freedom of speech, public works to prevent unemployment, public ownership of public utilities, democratic control of industry, a heavily graduated income and inheritance tax, withdrawal of troops from Russia, etc. It has also endorsed the League of Nations, though it has expressed its criticism of the proposed draft.

### Nonpartisan League

The closing of the General Assembly of North Dakota on March 3 marked the conclusion of the most radical session of any legislature that has ever taken office



in the Northwest. The Legislature, dominated entirely by the Nonpartisan League, voted, during the session, the establishment of a state bank as a repository for all funds held in the state—a bank which promises to be one of the strongest financial institutions in the Northwest; the building of state terminal elevators, flour mills and other distributing, buying and selling agencies; a state home-building association, to aid farmers to purchase their own homes; a system of taxation exempting improvements up to a certain limit from taxation, and other measures. An Industrial Commission, consisting of three members—the Governor, the Attorney-General, and the Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor—is authorized to conduct and operate any and all industrial enterprises the state may establish. The assembly also enacted a workmen's compensation law, and prohibited any woman or minor from working for less than \$1.50 a day or more than eight hours a day.

#### In the Labor World

Great unrest has been manifested of late in the labor world. This has taken the form of numerous big strikes. Of interest to all workers in America has been the strike of the Amalgamated Garment Workers in New York, which, after three months, has won a 44-hour week not only for the garment workers in New York but for those in other parts of the country. The International Ladies' Garment Workers have also won their demands in several instances.

#### The Seattle Strike

Most spectacular has been the general strike of Seattle lasting five days, from February 6 to 10. The strike was a sympathetic strike in behalf of the ship builders, and, during the five days, the city was in the virtual control of the Strike Committee. A revolutionary note was evidenced throughout, and thousands of circulars were distributed among the workers containing appeals like the following:

"Strikers! The shipyard employers have confessed that they cannot properly manage industry. They say that they cannot conduct the yards efficiently enough to provide the workers with necessary food, clothing and shelter. They are failures. They admit it. But you strikers know you could properly run the yards because you have always run the yards. You know that you could shorten the hours, use more safeguards against accident and death, have more sanitary arrangements, give to every worker employed more of the necessities and luxuries of life, and still produce the ships that the world so sorely needs. You could manage the shipyards through an industrial organization. You could discipline yourselves by your own unions. You could select your own managers by competitive test from your own members. You could

control your jobs and your own lives. You could work as free men instead of slaves. And you could produce the ships at far less expenditure of human labor energy than under the wasteful rule of the inefficient industrial masters. Accept the employers' apology. They have failed. Prepare to take and control the industries, workers."

The strikers appointed a committee to keep order, and arrests during this period were less frequent than in other times. The men did not win, but the solidarity displayed caused a profound impression throughout the Northwest.

The strike of the men around New York harbor and of the textile workers in Lawrence for the 8-hour day and more pay are also of particular moment.

#### The A. F. of L. and the Labor Party

The Executive Committee of the A. F. of L., beset for many months to issue a reconstruction program, endorsed such a program in early February. It included a demand for a living wage, an eight-hour day, equal pay for equal work, the right of collective bargaining for public employees, the building of model homes by the Government and the establishment of a system of Government credits to aid workers in the building of homes; regulation of corporations and a progressive system of taxation. The program also warns labor against independent political action, in the following terms:

"This disastrous experience of organized labor in America with political parties of its own amply justified, the American Federation of Labor's nonpartisan political policy. The results secured by labor parties in other countries never have been such as to warrant any deviation from this position. The rules and regulations of trade unionism should not be extended so that the action of a majority could force a minority to vote for or give financial support to any political candidate or party to whom they are opposed. Trade union activities cannot receive the undivided attention of members and officers if the exigencies, burdens and responsibilities of a political party are bound up with their economic and industrial organizations."

#### The I. W. W.

The Government has taken occasion during recent months to continue its prosecutions of the members of the Industrial Workers of the World. On April 1, 1918, it began its five months' trial of the leaders of the I. W. W., which ended in the conviction of 93 of the original 166 defendants and to sentences of imprisonment in Leavenworth penitentiary of from 1 to 20 years. Among the prisoners are William D. Haywood, general organizer, Vincent St. John, former general organizer, the members of the executive board, the organizers of all the larger industrial

unions of the I. W. W., and the editors of *Solidarity* and most of the I. W. W. papers.

"The persecution of the organization throughout the whole period of the trial," declares the Civil Liberties Bureau, "from the first Department of Justice raids on September 5, 1917, to the present, is incredible. The offices have been repeatedly raided, many times without even the pretense of a warrant; mail of all sorts has been arbitrarily held up for months by the postoffice; express companies have been prohibited by the Department of Justice from taking shipments to or from the I. W. W. and Federal Secret Service men have continually hounded the organization in its work of conducting its legal defense. Even sympathizers not connected in any way with the organization, have been similarly treated by the agents of the government. All attempts to get into the public press a fair statement of the vital industrial issues involved have met with a torrent of abuse and misrepresentation."

Forty-six defendants, on January 25, 1919, were convicted and sentenced to terms ranging from one to ten years in the famous "silent defense" trial in Sacra-

mento, California, where 43 of the defendants refused to employ a lawyer, or to offer evidence, in order to express their utter lack of faith in the ability of the court to do them justice.

There were also the Wichita, Kansas, trial, involving 12 of the Chicago and 38 new defendants, the Omaha, Nebraska, case involving 21 of the Chicago and 28 other defendants and the Spokane, Washington, prosecution involving 28 new defendants. In addition there have been numerous other trials of individual members of the I. W. W. Several statutes have been recently passed, practically making it a criminal offence to hold membership in the I. W. W. and many have been deported recently through the efforts of the Department of Labor.

"The I. W. W.," continues the Civil Liberties Bureau, "is obviously engaged in a terrific struggle for the right to exist. It is radical labor's fight in the United States. They need now the help of all sympathizers, all believers in their right to represent the needs of a great group of unskilled workers—their right under the guarantees of the Constitution."

H. W. L.

## Review of Books

**THE HIGHER LEARNING IN AMERICA. A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men.** By Thorstein Veblen. N. Y.: B. W. Huebsch. \$2.

Persons who have the good fortune to be on terms of intimate acquaintance with "The Theory of the Leisure Class" do not need to be told that they may, without fear of disappointment, expect much from a work title-paged as above.

Professor Veblen points out that "idle curiosity is a native trait of the race"; meaning thereby a desire to know, without any reference to possible utility of the knowledge sought. He shows that in these later times as distinguished from earlier ones the quest of "unprofitable" knowledge has so far become an avowed "end in itself" that "the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men" is now freely rated as the "most humane and meritorious work to be taken care of by any enlightened community or any public spirited friend of civilization." The modern university is the only accepted institution of modern culture on which the search for knowledge unquestionably devolves. This quest is the one indispensable duty—and mark—of a uni-

versity. With this definition of a university, drawn from the consensus of opinion in modern civilization, Professor Veblen proceeds to discuss the actual institution.

Since the searcher after knowledge needs a roof over his head, books and apparatus, the university "plant" represents financial outlay; hence, its management has passed into the hands of the business man; and this business man, though dealing with something foreign to his world, cannot depart from his wonted viewpoint or lay aside his familiar standard of efficiency and utility.

Professor Veblen analyses the elements hostile to a true university which result from this "business" management: an undergraduate school composed principally of "young men who have no designs on learning beyond the close of the college curriculum"; the technological and professional schools, confessedly "practical"; the heterogeneous array of "vocational" schools, even more frankly practical. The introductory chapter is a complete essay in itself, a notable contribution to the scientific examination of the recent mental development of the



race. Under the head of "Material Equipment," Professor Veblen deals with the results of business administration,—the ostentatious academic display borrowed from the realm of advertisement and competition; and in the chapter on "Academic Personnel" he indicates the inevitable deterioration in the teaching force.

The reader emerges from Chapter VI, "The Portion of the Scientist", with more than a suspicion that, amid "the expedients of decorative real-estate, spectacular pageantry, bureaucratic magnificence, elusive statistics, genteel solemnities, and sweat-shop instruction," there is no fit home for the scientific investigator, even if his field be so extra-social as a physical or biological science; while, if he deals with the origin and development of institutions, his remaining in the "university" is conditioned on teaching and writing in proper fear of that "select body of substantial citizens who have the disposal of accumulated wealth."

Boards of trustees, university faculties, and especially university presidents—the "captains of erudition"—, in case they chance upon "The Higher Learning in America," will doubtless "sit tight," hoping that few will read this book and that happily it may soon be forgotten. But the book is written—and truth moves on swift wings which neither time nor censor can overtake.

ELLEN HAYES.

**AMERICANIZED SOCIALISM.** By James Mackaye. N. Y.: Boni and Liveright. 1918. \$1.25.

Mr. Mackaye has the advantage in all of his writings of an outright American vocabulary and habit of mind. He, therefore, performs a peculiarly valuable service of interpretation when he writes on Socialism. He understands because he is American and because he has active associations with our business world, the appeal of the argument of productive efficiency. He appreciates the uses of the appeal to self-interest no less than of the appeal to America sublimated by intense idealism. He has an honesty of mind which leads him to understate no objections and slur over no real difficulties of industrial reorganization.

And he has finally a clear grasp of the idea that social classes are neither preached out of existence nor extinguished by revolution. They are superseded only in so far as the function which they perform is performed by some one else. In the present analysis it is the capital saving and capital lending class which is under scrutiny. And Mr. Mackaye helps to remove confusion and to allay irresponsible "radical" talk by insisting that only as the community makes other provision for enormously important and necessary work of amassing and directing the flow of capital, will the time come when the lending class can, safely to the rest of us, go the way of kings and slave-holders. This work merits a wider audience than its title may earn for it because it sees American problems through native eyes and talks about them with shrewd native good humor and sense. O. T.

#### FURTHER BOOK NOTES.

Many books of unusual merit have been published of late deserving of careful review, but space will permit of mere mention.

##### Problems of the Coming State

Among these books are several which grapple in masterly fashion with the problems of the state and of the coming industrial democracy. These include:

1. Bertrand Russell's "The Proposed Roads to Freedom," (1919, 218 pp., Holt, \$1.50). An analysis by the brilliant English philosopher of the three proposals for the new social order,—Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism,—and a description of the spread of Socialism and of the syndicalistic revolt against Marxian theories. The author himself inclines strongly to the tenets of Guild Socialism.

2. "Socialism versus the State," by Emile Vandervelde (1919, 229 pp., Chicago: Kerr, \$1). This book, written by the former chairman of the International, deals discriminatingly with the advantages and dangers of public ownership under capitalistic government and with the Socialist conception of the state. It should be read by all who confuse State Socialism with democratic Socialism.

3. "The British Revolution and American Democracy," by Norman Angell (1919, 319 pp., Huebsch, \$1.50). With the clarity evidenced in all his works, Mr. Angell here describes the industrial revolution now going on in Great Britain and analyzes the big industrial and social problems that Great Britain and America must needs face in the days that are to come.

4. "Authority in the Modern State," by Harold J. Laski (1918, 380 pp., Yale, \$3). This book examines, in Mr. Laski's vivid fashion, the main theories of the state and emphasizes the inadequacies of the political philosophy which refuses to think through the relation of obedience to freedom.

5. "The Meaning of National Guilds," by Reckitt and Bechhofer (1918, Macmillan, \$2.50). A comprehensive survey of the Guild Socialist movement, its aims and ideals, the first volume on the subject published in America.

6. "The New State," by M. P. Follett (1918, Longmans, Green, \$3). A survey of various concepts of the state.

7. "Revolutionary Socialism," by Louis C. Fraina (1918, N. Y., The Communist Press, 75c.). A volume by the editor of "The Revolutionary Age," the left wing organ in the Socialist movement, pleading for a more revolutionary program, in view of recent world events, than has thus far been adopted by the Socialist Party.

Two pamphlets which may also be mentioned in this section are: "Socialism," by David P. Berenberg (1918, 48 pp., Rand School, 10c.), a pamphlet giving in clear fashion the A B C's of Socialism, and "The Socialist Party and Its Purposes," by Wm. Bross Lloyd (1918, 40 pp., Chicago: Goodspeed Press, 10c.), a trenchant explanation of the demands of the Socialist Party of America.

### Russia

Numerous books and pamphlets published during the last few months have dealt extensively with the development of the proletarian movements in specific countries. On the Russian situation may be cited:

Bessie Beatty's "The Red Heart of Russia" (1918, 480 pp., The Century Co., \$2), an intensely interesting portrayal of the developments in Russia during the Kerevsky and early Bolshevik regimes; Louise Bryant's informing volume, "Six Red Months in Russia" (1918, 299 pp., George H. Doran, \$2); Ernest Poole's two books on "The Dark People" and "The Village" (1918, Macmillan, \$1.50), vivid word pictures of Russian conditions in the city and villages; Charles Edward Russell's "Unchained Russia" (1918, 32 pp., Appleton, \$1.50), which, while disapproving of the Bolsheviks, pleads for a less stupid attitude toward the Russian situation than that which has thus far prevailed among the Allies; John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World" (1919, Boni and Liveright, \$1.50); A. J. Sack's "The Birth of the Russian Revolution" (1918, Russian Information Bureau), an anti-Bolshevik work containing much information concerning the backgrounds of the Revolution; Robert C. Long's "Russian Revolution Aspects" (1918, Dutton, \$2.50); Basil Gourko's

"War and Revolution in Russia, 1914 to 1917" (1918, Macmillan, \$4); Arthur Ransome's "On Behalf of Russia" (1918, 29 pp., New Republic, 10c.); J. V. Bubnov's "The Cooperative Movement in Russia" (1918, Manchester: Cooperative Printing Society, \$1.25); and three publications of the Socialist Publication Society, 431 Pulaske Street, Brooklyn: N. Lenin's "A Letter to American Workingmen" (1918, 16 pp., 5c.); S. Nuorteva's "An Open Letter to American Liberals," and Leon Trotsky's "From October to Brest-Litovsk" (1919 100 pp., 35c.).

Further pamphlets are "The Sisson Documents," by John Reed (1918, 18 pp., Liberator Pub. Co., 5c.); "The Bolsheviks and the Soviets," by Albert Rhys Williams (1918, 48 pp., Rand School, 10c.), and one on "Russian Soviets," by Williams (1919, N. Y.: The People's Print). John Spargo has just published a book on Russia, and the Rand School is publishing a valuable documentary history of the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations, compiled by Dr. Judah L. Magnes.

### Socialism in Other Countries

In connection with the recent events in Germany may be found "The Social Revolution in Germany," by Louis C. Fraina, including two articles by Karl Kautsky and Franz Mehring (1919, 108 pp., Boston: The Revolutionary Age, 25c.), presenting the Spartacide point of view, and "The Revolution in Germany," by Karl Dannenberg (1919, 32 pp., N. Y.: The Radical Review, 10c.). Two other recent books on Socialism and the labor movement in other countries are: "The Labor Movement in Japan," by Sen Katayama (1918, 147 pp., Kerr & Co., \$1); "Labor in Irish History," by James Connolly (1919, 137 pp., N. Y.: The Donnelly Press, 164 E. 37th Street, 50c.), and "Democracy in Ireland Since 1913," by Skeffington (1918, 62 pp., The Donnelly Press, 25c.).

### The Labor Movement

The latest book bearing directly on the labor movement in this country is "The I. W. W.," a study of American Syndicalism, by Paul F. Brissenden, Ph.D. (1919, 432 pp., Longmans, \$3.50 paper, and \$4). The author gives a full and impartial account of the stormy career of the American I. W. W. The book contains important documents and a detailed bibliography and constitutes the most authoritative work on this movement. Other books that may be cited here are: "Woman and the Labor Party," by Marion Phillips (1918, Huebsch, 50c.); "The Gospel for a Working World," with a Bibliography, by Professor Harry F. Ward (1918, 260 pp., N. Y.: Missionary Education Movement), an endeavor to show the practical application of Christianity to industrial conditions; "Labor in the Commonwealth," by G. D. H. Cole (1918, 223 pp., London:



Headley Bros.), a clear, elementary analysis of the problems of labor and of the coming cooperative system; the second edition of Robert F. Hoxie's keen insight into "Trade Unionism in the United States" (first edition, 1917, 426 pp., Appleton, \$2.50); and John R. Commons and Associates' monumental work on "The History of Labor in the United States," in two volumes (1918, 1243 pp., Macmillan, \$6.50).

#### Problems of Reconstruction

Additional volumes on reconstruction which are deserving of special mention are "Britain after the Peace: Revolution or Reconstruction," by Brougham Villiers (1918, 249 pp., Dutton, \$2.50); "The Great Change," by Charles W. Wood (1918, 214 pp., Boni and Liveright, \$1.50), a group of searching interviews of prominent men and women of affairs; "The Works Manager Today," by Sidney Webb (1918, 162 pp., Longmans, \$1.25), an examination of the problems of management in relation to the organization of labor, scientific management, etc.; "The Land and the Soldier," by Dr. Frederic C. Howe (1919, Scribners, \$1.50), a fundamental discussion of reconstruction and the land problem; "Rural Reconstruction in Ireland," by Lionel Smith Gordon and Laurence C. Staples (1917, 279 pp., Yale, \$3.00), a scholarly description of the Irish cooperative movement; "Economic Problems of Peace After War," by W. R. Scott (1918, Putnam, \$2.00); "Social Reconstruction," by the Committee on Special War Activities, National Catholic War Council, 930 Fourteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C. (1919, 24 pp.); "Problems of Industrial Readjustment in the United States," by the National Industrial Conference (1919, 50 pp., Boston: N. I. C.); "Problems of Reconstruction, International and National," edited by Lindsay Rogers (1919, 167 pp., American Association for International Conciliation, 407 West 117th St., N. Y.), an able analysis of the various problems of reconstruction with numerous bibliographies; "The Farmer and the New Day," by Kenyon L. Butterfield (1919, Macmillan, \$2); and "How the Government Handled Its Labor Problems During the War," prepared by the Bureau of Industrial Research (1919, 48 pp., N. Y.: Bur. of Ind. Res., 25c.) and a pamphlet on democracy in industry, by Robert W. Dunn (1918, Boston, League for Democratic Control, 10c.).

#### International Relations

Among important 1918 publications on international problems may be found Norman Angell's "Political Conditions of Allied Success" (1918, 350 pp., Putnam, \$1.50), a portrayal of the bankruptcy of the old diplomacy; "The Only Possible Peace," by Frederic C. Howe (1918, Scribners, \$1.50), a democratic view of the newer spirit needed in diplomacy if war is to be prevented in the future; "The League of

Nations, Today and Tomorrow," by Horace M. Kallen (1918, 181 pp., Boston: Marshall Jones Co., \$1.50), an elaboration of the economic commissions necessary for the maintenance of peace; "A League of Nations," compiled by Edith M. Phelps (1918, 256 pp., H. W. Wilson), a handbook impartially setting forth the arguments for and against particular kinds of leagues; "A League of Nations," by H. N. Brailsford (1919, 349 pp., Macmillan, \$2.25), a brilliant exposition of the economic readjustments necessary if peace is to be permanent; "League of Nations, an Alliance or a Nation of Nations?," by Alfred Owen Crozier (1919, 196 pp., N. Y.: Lecouver Press Co., 50c.), a volume which takes the view that the proposed league of nations is merely an alliance, not a true world federation; "National Governments and the World War," by F. A. Ogg and C. A. Beard (1918, Macmillan, \$2.50); "Republic of Nations," by Raleigh C. Minor (1918, Oxford Univ. Press, \$2.50); "Practical Pacifism and Its Adversaries," by Severin Nordentoft (1919, Stokes, \$1.50); "The Biology of War," by G. F. Nicolai (1919, Century, \$3.50); "The Essentials of an Enduring Victory," by André Chiradame (1918, Scribners, \$1.50); "Peace Conference Handbook" (1918, Chicago: Published by the Fabian Club, 10c.).

#### The City

Several books of importance dealing with the city also deserve mention. These include: "Our Cities Awake," by Morris Llewellyn Cooke, M.E., with a Foreword by Newton D. Baker (1918, 351 pp., Doubleday Page and Co., \$2.50), a vital, alive and progressive treatment of the growing industrial and social activities of the American City by the former Director of Public Works of Philadelphia; "American Cities, Their Methods of Business," by Arthur Benson Gilbert (1918, 240 pp., Macmillan, \$1.50), another wide-awake book indicating some of the possibilities of constructive city evolution; "The Little Town," (especially in its rural relationships), by Harlan Paul Douglass (1919, 258 pp., Macmillan, \$1.50), a comprehensive study of the limitations and possibilities of the small community in America.

#### Miscellaneous

Among recent histories of importance may be cited "Modern and Contemporary European History," by J. Salwyn Shapiro (1918, Houghton, Mifflin, \$3.50); and "A Social History of the American Family," (1918, in 3 vols., Cleveland: Clark, \$5 per volume); and among further social discussions, "Readings in Industrial Society," by L. I. Marshall (1918, Univ. of Chic. Press, \$3.50); "Christianity and Industrial Problems," the Report of the Archbishop's Fifth Commission of Inquiry (1919, Macmillan, \$2.50); "Democratic Christianity,"

by Francis J. McConnell (1919, Macmillan, 60c.); Romain Rolland's "The People's Theater" (1918, Holt, \$1.35); Claude Bridgdon's "Architecture of Democracy" (1918, Knopf, \$2); Alice M. H. Heniger's "The Kingdom of the Child" (1918, Dutton, \$1.50); W. L. M. King's "Industry and Humanity" (1918, Houghton, Mifflin, \$3); "The Ethics of Cooperation," by J. H. Tufts (1918, Houghton, Mifflin, \$1); "The Human Machine and Industrial Efficiency," by F. S. Lee (1918, Longmans, Green, \$1.10).

Several recent publications of the Civil Liberties Bureau, 41 Union Square, New York City, and of the People's Print, 138 West 13th Street, City, should also be mentioned. "Before the Court, Nearing and Debs," "American Deportation and Exclusion Laws," by Charles Recht, just published by the People's Print, might be particularly cited. All of these publications may be obtained through the I. S. S., 70 Fifth Ave., New York City, and the Rand School Book Store, 7 E. 15th Street.

H. W. L.

#### Other Notable Books

**The Socialists in the New York Board of Aldermen.** By Evans Clark and Charles Solomon. 1918. N. Y.: Rand School. 10 cents.

**The Socialists in the New York Assembly.** By August Claessens and William Morris Feigenbaum. 1918. 96 pp. N. Y.: Rand School. 15 cents.

These books describe the activities of the seven Socialist aldermen and ten Socialist assemblymen. The groups and the party are to be congratulated on the achievements here recorded.

**The People's Part in Peace.** By Ordway Tead. N. Y.: Holt. \$1.10.

A clear and profound exposition of the economic conditions underlying an efficacious league of nations.

**Internationalism. The Problem of the Hour.** By Irwin St. John Tucker. 1918. 130 pp. Chicago: The Author, 1541 Unity Building. 50 cents.

A series of five lectures bringing together in popular form a mass of valuable material both historical and economic.

**The Economic Causes of War.** By Achille Loria. 1916. 182 pp. Chicago: Kerr and Company. \$1.

The book deals with the relation of economic conditions to the rise, fall, and partial and complete restoration of the international rural system, concluding with a chapter on "The Lessons of the Great War," and a valuable bibliography.

**Cooperation, the Hope of the Consumer.** By Emerson P. Harris. 1918. 315 pp. N. Y.: Macmillan. \$2.

This book, written by the president of the Montclair Cooperative Society, is the most comprehensive and important book on cooperation that has thus far appeared in this country.

**Fair Play for the Worker.** By Percy Stickney Grant. 367 pp. Moffat, Yard and Company. 1918. \$1.60.

Dr. Grant here endeavors to give to those not directly involved in the labor struggle a sympathetic understanding of the present proletarian movement and a better knowledge of some of the big social evils which need to be remedied.

**Instincts in Industry.** By Ordway Tead. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin. \$1.40.

A valuable contribution. Mr. Tead has taken the instincts which guide the actions of the individual and has interpreted modern industrial problems in their light.

### COLLEGE TRIPS

In March, Dr. Laidler took a trip among the New England colleges, the first college trip since the dissolution of the S. A. T. C. Dr. Laidler first visited Yale, on Tuesday, March 4, and there addressed some two hundred students and townspeople in Lampson Lyceum on "The Labor Movement Here and Abroad." M. Sweetkind acted as chairman. Considerable interest was manifested in the lecture, and, following the address, a number of students reorganized the group. During the fall, the military discipline in Yale precluded any outside activities on the part of the students. In the Sheffield Scientific School, for instance, the daily routine was somewhat as follows: 5:45 A. M., rising time; 5:45 to 7, cleaning up and mess; 7 to 9, drill; 9 to 10, study period; 10 to 11, recitation; 11 A. M. to 1 P. M., drill and mess; 1 to 4, laboratory; 4 to 5, recitation, 5 to 5:30, preparation for drill; 5:30 to 7, drill and mess; 7 to 9, study period, generally broken into by a lecture; 9:30, lights out. For some time it was practically impossible to leave the campus. The college is now regaining its normal peace atmosphere, although it contains but 1,500 out of the 3,000 students of pre-war days.

From Yale, Dr. Laidler went to Trinity, where he addressed an economics class, on "The Cooperative Movement," and the following day, March 6, to Wesleyan, his Alma Mater, where he spoke before another economics class of some forty students, and, in the afternoon, helped to reorganize the Wesleyan Chapter, with Leslie P. Beebe, as temporary president.

That evening, he spoke before the Berkeley Divinity School Chapter on "The Labor Movement," and returned the next day to New York, where he lectured be-



fore the Social Problems Club of C. C. N. Y. on "The New World in the Making."

On Monday morning, March 10, he addressed Professor Sprague's economics class of sixty at the Massachusetts Agricultural College on some phases of the labor problem. Several students promised to organize a chapter. On Monday night, an address was given before the strong Amherst Chapter on "Newer Aspects of Socialism." The Chapter here, organized a few weeks before Leland Olds, includes some of the most brilliant students in college.

On March 12, the secretary visited Clark, and addressed some combined economics classes on "The Larger Aspects of Reconstruction." Clark College has a group particularly interested in social problems, and following the lecture, a strong organization was formed with John G. McGovern as president, Harry I. Shapiro as secretary, and Edward Levine as treasurer.

On Thursday morning, March 11, Dr. Laidler gave another lecture before a large economics class at Simmons; on Thursday afternoon, he addressed a combined meeting of the Radcliffe and Harvard Chapters at Radcliffe; on Friday, he conferred with the Executive Committee of the Harvard Socialist Club; on Friday evening, he gave a short talk on the labor party before the League for Democratic Control at the Twentieth Century Club, Boston; on Saturday morning, he spoke before Professor Savage's class in Wellesley on "Socialism vs. the Servile State," and on Sunday addressed an audience of eight hundred in the Providence People's Forum.

At Simmons there is a flourishing chapter of the Society, led by Martha Anderson, and at Radcliffe, a vigorous group, led by Elizabeth Boody, Margaret Garrison, Helen Peabody, and others. The Harvard Socialist Club has just reorganized, and consists chiefly of underclassmen, with Hood D. van den Arndt as temporary chairman and David Anopolsky, temporary secretary. A few of the conservative students of the college have organized a reactionary group which, some days ago, entered the room of one of the Harvard Socialists and gathered and burned all of his literature on the Lawrence Strike.

While in all of the colleges was to be found an element indifferent or hostile to the study of Socialism and allied problems, the trip indicated an increasingly great interest in these problems, and a realization that no student could be intelligently informed concerning world events unless he had a grasp of the meaning of Socialism. In Brown University, for instance, Professor Hansen stated that, while, prior to the war, some 15 students took his course on Socialism, at present that number has been increased to 55. In practically every college, the secretary was in-

formed that students and faculty were almost unanimously of the opinion that military and good college work were incompatible. Following the dissolution of the S. A. T. C. at Yale, an attempt was made to develop a Yale artillery, but, after a few weeks of rather indifferent reception, this attempt was given up as a failure, and the military aspect of the college that, a few weeks ago, was all prevailing, is now a past memory.

The secretary is also planning a Middle Western trip in late April and has already been scheduled for addresses at the Universities of Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan and at Oberlin. He will also speak before the St. Louis City Club, the Fabian Club of Chicago, the Cleveland Saturday Evening Club, etc.

## College Notes

### NEW ENGLAND

The HARVARD Chapter, reorganized by George E. Roewer, Jr., and Dr. Dana in the early part of the year, has thus far held three lectures, on "Socialists and the League of Nations," Dr. H. W. L. Dana, speaker; on "The Undergraduate in the Revolutionary Age," Arthur Fisher, speaker; and a joint meeting with the Radcliffe Club addressed by Dr. Laidler. Hood Van den Arend is president and David Anopolsky, secretary. The Chapter has decided to collect a library of Socialist books for the use of its members and friends, and to start a membership campaign for upperclassmen.

The YALE Chapter, reorganized during the visit of Secretary Laidler, has selected the following list of officers: Morris Sweetkind, president; Fay Campbell, vice-president; E. Siemens, treasurer, and S. Polayes, secretary.

The SIMMONS Chapter has conducted a series of interesting lectures this Spring, attended by a score or more of students, as follows: Jan. 3, Dr. George Hallett on "Proportional Representation"; Jan. 17, Mrs. Ripley on "Women in Organization"; Feb. 17, Dr. Harris on "The Lawrence Strike"; March 3, Professor Sara Stites on "The Nonpartisan League."

In February, Leland Olds, Amherst, 1912, visited Amherst under the auspices of the Amherst Y. M. C. A., addressed a group there on the significance of the Soviet form of government, and afterwards organized a strong AMHERST Chapter with Allan F. Saunders, chairman, and Herman M. Wessel, secretary, as officers.

Elizabeth Boody, the president of the RADCLIFFE Chapter, and Margaret Garrison, the secretary, were two of the college debaters in the recent intercollegiate debate on the league of nations and free trade.

At WELLESLEY, owing partly to the fact that Miss Mack, the president of the Chapter, has left college, the group there has been some-



what inactive, but is reorganized with Evelyn Söderlund as secretary.

At CLARK, WESLEYAN, and MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, I. S. S. groups were organized during the recent visit of Secretary Laidler.

### MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

The C. C. N. Y. Chapter, the Social Problems Club, with its membership of 150, has arranged an excellent program for the year. In March, the Chapter had, as outside speakers, Dr. Laidler and Professor K. B. Sarkar, the latter on "Asia and Reconstruction."

"Every Friday," declares President Mechner of the Chapter in his report regarding the Chapter's activities, "a prominent man is invited to speak before us.

"On Tuesdays, we have discussion classes at which the questions of the day are thrashed out. One of the members who has prepared the subject acts as leader. This method of informal round-table discussion has proved so popular that we are now meeting twice a week for this purpose. Walter Wolff, son of the Alderman of that name, conducted the first two gatherings. The subject was 'The Materialistic Conception of History.' Engels' 'Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,' was used as basis. The next topic will be 'Bolshevism and America.' Only original documents are considered."

Officers of the Chapter are Curtis Mechner, president; B. Beneditti, vice-president, and A. Klein, secretary-treasurer. The Chapter has of late met with certain opposition from some of the members of the faculty, but this has merely served to increase the interest of the members.

The COLUMBIA Chapter, under the leadership of Alfred Sachs, has held a reorganization meeting, and is now planning several large lectures.

BARNARD has held several interesting discussion gatherings of late. Bertha Wallerstein, the president, was a member of the debating team in the recent intercollegiate debates.

The HUNTER COLLEGE group, with Vita Weinstein and Louise Ross among the leading spirits, is stimulating much vigorous discussion in this institution. The group has been studying Marx and Engel's "Communist Manifesto."

At ADELPHI, Theresa Shulkin, the secretary, sends the following report: "The Adelphi Chapter has been very fortunate in having Mrs. Rosalind Trachtenberg as its director. With her guidance we are studying the platform of the Socialist Party and are finishing Hillquit's 'Socialism Summed Up'.

"In February, we had Anita C. Block speak to us on 'Socialism.' In March, Dr. Melish spoke on 'Reconstruction in Great Britain.' Dr. Neumann of the Ethical Culture Society lectured on 'The British Labor Party.'

"March 31, we had Mr. Allan McCurdy deliver an address on 'Revolution and Recon-

struction.' Miss Freda Kirchwey will speak some day in April on 'Socialism, A World Movement.' We are to have public meetings every two weeks for the rest of the term. Our meetings are very successful for we have as many as seventy students present. We consider that a large number for a small college like Adelphi."

CORNELL reports three excellent meetings this spring, as follows: February 1, "Problems of the Socialist Party," by Professor V. Karapetoff, under the joint auspices of the Ethics, Polity and Socialist Clubs—the first such joint gathering ever held by the Cornell Clubs—attendance, 250; February 15, "French Radicalism," by Professor G. Mason, attendance, 100; March 1, "Liberty and Equality," a particularly brilliant lecture giving a thorough historical study of American democracy, by Professor Carl Becker, attendance 75. J. Goldberg is secretary.

On February 10, the VASSAR Chapter had arranged a meeting for Albert Rhys Williams on "Russia," and its announcement caused great interest. Immediately prior to the lecture, however, the metropolitan newspapers printed the attacks made by a United States Senator on the Williams' meeting in Washington, as a result of which the Vassar authorities compelled the cancellation of the lecture. This action led to much adverse criticism.

### MIDDLE WEST

Announcement of recent activities of the WISCONSIN Chapter is made elsewhere.

Sonya Forthal, of the Socialist Round Table of OBERLIN College, writes that meetings are held every Friday evening. The one outside speaker thus far has been Professor D. R. Moore, who lectured on "The History of Russia and the Causes of Bolshevism." The subject, "Shall Bolshevism be Encouraged or Discouraged?" drew out the largest attendance.

Josephine Newell of the Socialist Study Club of the University of ILLINOIS writes that "the club as yet is practically unorganized, owing to the impossibility of obtaining a satisfactory meeting place. However, a group of students of social questions, among whom are many former members of the club, is meeting every other Sunday afternoon." Dr. Laidler is planning to visit the Universities of Wisconsin, Illinois and Michigan and Oberlin on his Middle Western trip.

### ALUMNI CHAPTERS

The Fabian Club of Chicago has held numerous successful meetings of late, the last, on March 28, in the form of a farewell dinner to Stuart and Margaret Hatfield Chase, who spoke on "Radicals—Dead and Alive." Mr. and Mrs. Chase were the founders of the club. They are planning to live in Washington.

Since the last magazine went to press, the New York Alumni Chapter has been holding a number of particularly popular and informative gatherings, as follows: "The New Labor Party," Allan McCurdy, Evans Clark, as speakers; "Author's Reading," Louis Unter-



neyer, and Songs by Sonia Medvedieff; "Socialism and the Small Nations," General Mesrop Azarpetian; "The League of Nations from the Economic Point of View," Mr. J. Geo. Frederick, and "from the Socialist Point of View," Dr. Jessie W. Hughan; "Political Prisoners and Deportation," Elizabeth Gurley Flynn; "Three Years Under Three Governments in Russia," Jerome Davis; "The Freudian Ethics," André Tridon; and "Realpolitik," Bruno Lasker, and "John Ruskin, First Guild Socialist, 1819-1919," Lewis Mumford. On Friday evening, April 4, the Chapter held a most successful dinner on "Collapse and Reconstruction in Europe," with Dr. Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration, as the principal speaker.

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